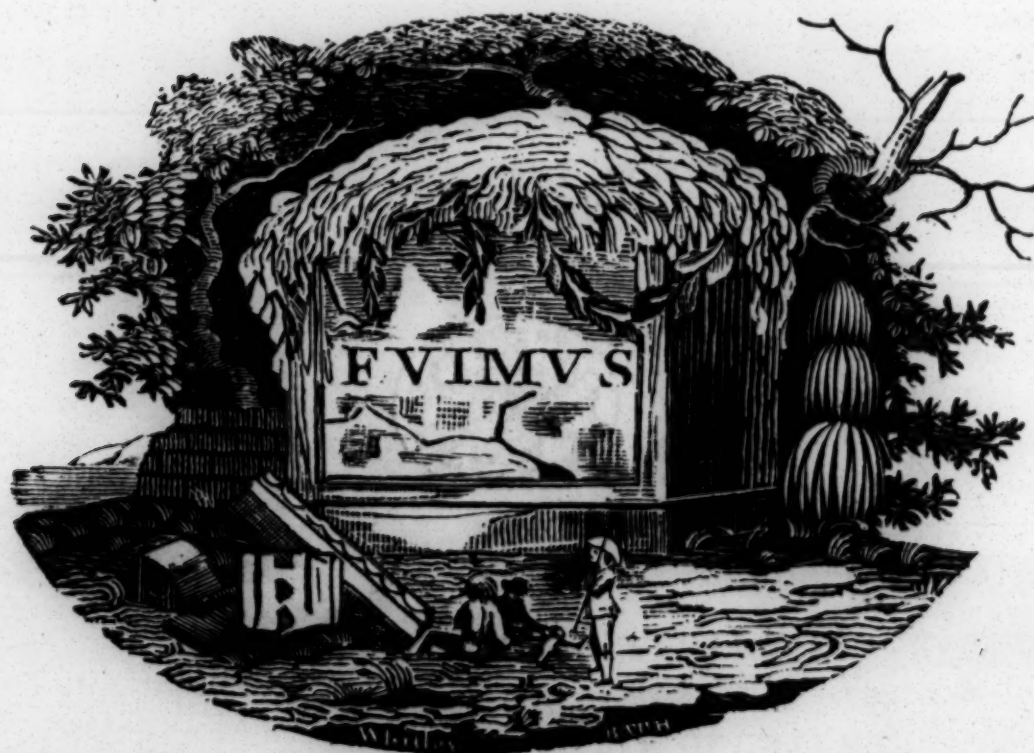


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AN
ILLUSTRATION
OF THE
Roman Antiquities
DISCOVERED AT
BATH.

By the Rev. RICHARD WARNER,
CURATE OF ST. JAMES'S PARISH.



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M,DCC,XCVII.



TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL
THE MAYOR, ALDERMEN, AND CHIEF CITIZENS
OF

BATH,

THE FOLLOWING ILLUSTRATION OF CERTAIN

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES,

ORIGINALLY DISCOVERED,

AND BY THEIR CARE AND ATTENTION,

NOW PRESERVED IN

That City,

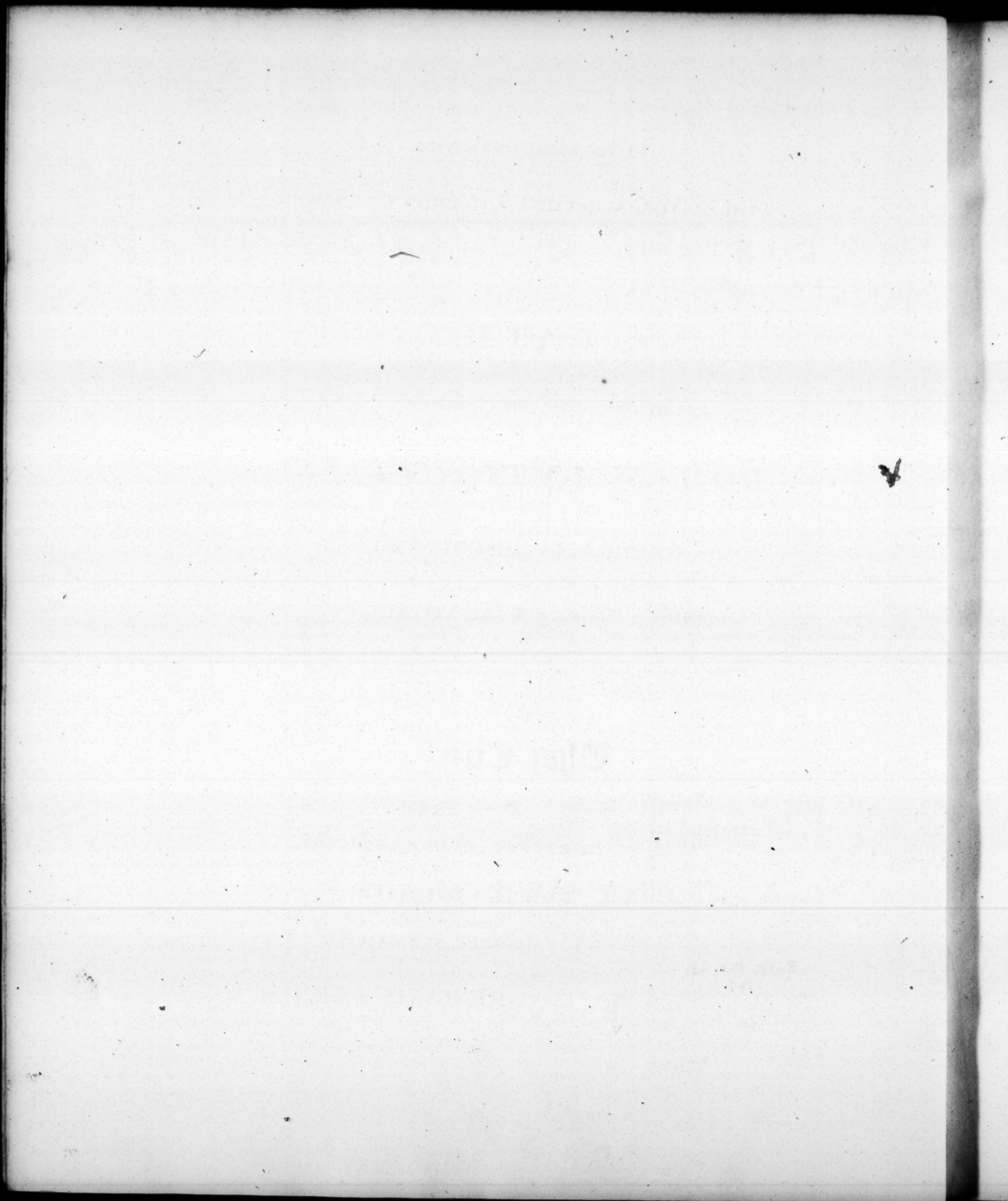
IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY THEIR OBEDIENT,

HUMBLE SERVANT,

RICHARD WARNER.

BATH, FEB. 13,
1797.



THE
INTRODUCTION.

WERE we to give credit to the fanciful descriptions of Jeffery of Monmouth, and other fabling assertors of the British antiquities, we should believe, that the arts and sciences, the elegancies, luxuries, and refinements of life, were known and practised by the Britons, long before their communication with the Romans; and we might be persuaded, that even Bath itself made a considerable figure, as a city, some centuries previous to the Christian *Æra*.¹ But if we turn from these wild dreams of the cloister, to the page of classical history, we shall find (from the few hints on the subject which may there be met with) that

¹ Little, if any, credit can be given to the details of British transactions previous to the arrival of the Romans here, as Polydore Virgil hath well observed. *Equidem nihil occultius; nihil incertius; nihil ignoratius; rebus Britannorum a principio gestis; partim quod annales, si qui fuerant, sicut supra ostendimus Gildam testificari, funditus perierant, unde postea qui historias scripserunt, nihil haurire potuerunt, &c.* Hist. p. 18. l. 21.

the original inhabitants of our country little deserved the splendid character thus attributed to them. Scarcely emerged from those simple modes of life which are denominated the *hunter state*, the Britons, when first discovered by the Romans, did not by any means present a picture of national refinement. It was only near the coast¹ that any traces of civilization appeared; and for this partial improvement in manners, the inhabitants were indebted to the communication which they maintained with the continental nations, through the medium of commerce. In the interior parts of the country all was wild and savage. Towns there were none;² the scattered dwellings of the natives were but miserable huts,³ and many of the most obvious comforts and conveniences of life were utterly unknown to them. Warlike and fierce,⁴ but at the same time mild and merciful;⁵ precipitate and inconstant,⁶ but generous and candid;⁷ proud and haughty,⁸ but benevolent and hospitable;⁹ the ancient Britons exhibit, in the page of history, that inconsistent character which is only

¹ Cæsar speaking of the Belgic Britons, says, "Ex his omnibus longe humanissimi sunt qui Cantium incolunt; quæ regio est maritima omnis: neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine." Cæs. Bel. Gal. lib. 5.

² Dion. Cass. Lib. 39.

³ Diod. Sic. L. 5. c. 8.

⁴ Herodian lib. 3.

⁵ Hospitibus boni mitesque supplicibus. Pomp. Mela. lib. 3.

⁶ Rumoribus atque auditionibus permoti de summis sæpe rebus consilia ineunt. Cæs. Bel. Gal. lib. 4.

⁷ Diod. Sic. lib. 5.

⁸ Celtæ magna de seipsis sentiunt. Arrian. Exped. Alex.

⁹ Diod. Sic. lib. 5.

found in an early stage of society, when men unacquainted with the obligations and ties of morality or religion, regulate their conduct, not by any fixed principles, but by the wild impulse of the passions, or the whimsical dictates of caprice,

This consideration alone is sufficient to overturn the imaginary system of old British refinement, which the writers above alluded to, in a mistaken regard for the honor of their country, have endeavoured to foist upon us; and convinces us, that if we expect to discover any trait of it previous to the arrival of the Romans in this kingdom, our hopes will be altogether disappointed.

Confining our attention therefore to the period subsequent to this event, we shall endeavour to throw some light on the History of Bath, under the conquerors of the world; to whom we are indebted for the remains of ancient art, which it is the purpose of the following sheets to illustrate.

Fifty-five years before the birth of our Saviour, Julius Cæsar discovered Britain to the Roman world.¹ I say *discovered*, because his partial penetration into it, and his contests with two or three tribes of the natives, scarcely

¹ Primus omnium Romanorum Divus Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, Tacit. Vit. Agric. C. 13.

amount to any thing further.¹ The *conquest* of the country did not take place till nearly a century afterwards. The long and bloody civil wars in which contending ambition plunged the Republic, kept, for a considerable time, the attention of the divided Romans confined to themselves—When, at length, the fierceness of party was quieted, and the commonwealth overturned by the superior address and good fortune of Augustus; the Emperor, fully employed in reconciling the minds of the Romans to this new species of domination, had neither time nor inclination to attend to the conquest of a distant nation, barbarous and wild, and cut off as it were from all the habitable world.² Tiberius imitated the politic conduct of Augustus in this respect; and all the preparations of the weak, wicked, and capricious Caligula evaporated in folly. Nor was it till the reign of Claudius, about the year of our Lord 44, that any part of Britain was fairly reduced under the Roman yoke; when Flavius Vespasian carried the eagle in triumph through the Belgic provinces, and compleatly subdued all the western, and south-western parts of Britain.³

¹ Quamquam prospera pugna terrerit incolas, ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Ibid. Intactus aut Britannus, Hor. Epod. 7. v. 7.

² Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos. Virgil. Ec. 3. v. 67.

³ Mox bella civilia, et in rempublicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace. Consilium id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum. Agitasse C. Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio, mobilis penitentia, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius Auctor Operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque, et assumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano, quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit, domitae gentes, capti reges, et monstratus satis Vespasianus. Tacit. in Vit. Agric. c. 13.

To this period then we are to look for the origin of Bath.¹—No sooner had the Romans penetrated into this part of Somersetshire, than the warm and medicinal springs, which had, probably, hitherto flowed unattended to along the vale, caught their observation, and quickly determined them to erect a station on the spot. Habituated as they were to the use of the bath, they gladly availed themselves of a situation which promised them, with little trouble, the indulgence that could not be procured in their own country without great labour and expence; and considering this advantage as fully counterbalancing all inconveniencies, they were content to forego their usual principles in choice of situation, and instead of fixing on any of the neighbouring commanding hills for their residence, they planted a colony on the site of present Bath, in the hollow bottom of a deep and close valley.

The legions which accompanied Vespasian to England were the 2d, the 9th, the 14th, and the 20th. These, as the Romans extended themselves in the county, were dispersed through the stations that marked their line of conquest. Part of them of course remained at Bath, to

¹ The country around Bath might have been conquered by *Ostorius*, and the colony of *Aquæ Solis* established by him.—He subdued the *Iceni* and *Cangi*, (a people of this part of Somersetshire) about the year of our Lord 50, and built a regular chain of forts upon the banks of the Severn and Avon. Many of his *castra æstiva*, or *exploratoria* are still plainly discernible. Compare Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. c. 31. "*Ostorius detrahare arma suspectis, cinfosque castris Sabrinum et Antonam fluvios cohibere parat.*" A notification of Ostorius's presence in these parts, is met with in the name of *Aust* passage, called in Doomsday-book *Oster-clive*, an evident corruption of the Roman appellation *Ostorius*.

regulate and keep quiet the newly acquired territory. A detachment of the second legion was appointed to this service; the foldiers of which immediately employed themselves in clearing the country around, and erecting proper barracks and residences for the accommodation of the Cohort. The place was then established into a colony;¹ and the name of *Aquæ Solis*,² or waters of the Sun, imposed

¹ Fuerint olim apud Brittones xcii urbes, earum vero celebriores, et præ reliquiis conspicuæ xxxiii. Municipia scilicet 11; Verolanium et Eboracum; viii coloniae sc. Londinium, Augusta. Camalodunum, Geminae Martiae—Rutupis. Thermæ—Aquæ Solis—Isca Secunda—Deva Getica—Glevum, Claudia—Lindum—Cam-boricum—Ricardi Corinenfis de situ Brit. c. vii. The colonies were subject to the Roman Laws; enjoyed all the rights of Roman citizens; and were governed by a senate of their own election. Coloniae—jura constitutaque omnia populi Romani habent. Aulus Gel. Noct. Att. lib. xiv. c. 31.

² Aquæ Solis is the name of Bath in the Itinerary of Antoninus; where it occurs thus—"Iter xiv. Item alio Itinere ab Isca (Caerleon) Callevam (Ilchester) M. P. ciii. (103 miles).

Ab Isca	- - - -	- -	From Caerleon.
Venta Silurum	- -	M. P. ix. - -	Caergwent.
Abone	- - - -	M. P. iv. - -	Aunbury.
Trajectus	- - - -	M. P. ix. - -	Henbun
Aquis Solis	- - - -	M. P. vi. - -	Bath.

In *Ptolemy's geography* Bath occurs under the name of ὕδατα θερμα, or warm waters. Τοῖς δὲ Δοῦνοις ΒΕΛΓΑΙ καὶ πόλεις. Ἰσχαλις (Isca) ὕδατα θερμα (Bath) Οὐιντα (Venta). The βαδίζα mentioned by Stephanus from Polybius is supposed to have been another name for the same city. ΒΑΔΙΖΑ, πόλις τῆς Βρεττανίας, Πολυβίους τριχαιδικατῶ, το ἔθνηκον Βαδίζαι. Step: de Urb: Tho' Wesseling doubts, and with good reason, whether it were intended under that name. Imo facile reperias quæ Βαδίζα Polybii apud Steph: huc referant, impulsi, ut liquet, recentiore Aquarum nomine Bath; quod ipsum si Britannis Polybii ætate usitatum fuisse demonstrarent nondum rem tenerent: neque enim usque a Polybio scriptum accepimus in ea urbe calidarum aquarum balinea fuisse. *Bathonia* prava Latinitate Osbernus in Vir. S. Elphegi c. 1. appellat—Wesseling. Anton. Itin. p. 486.

upon

upon it; in allusion to its warm medicinal springs, which were supposed to receive their heat from the influence of that vivifying planet.

Having arranged these necessary preliminaries, the next care of the Romans was to collect together the mineral waters that had hitherto wasted their healing powers on the wild solitudes through which they flowed; and to erect baths for the pleasure, health, and comfort of the inhabitants of the new city.

This we are justified in supposing would be a very early step with the Romans after their settlement here; since there was no luxury in higher estimation with them than frequent bathing. As linen was not generally used till the times of the lower empire, cleanliness rendered constant ablutions absolutely necessary; and, hence it was (according to an ancient writer), that the decent Roman, after every sort of exercise, or corporal exertion, plunged into the Bath, to free himself from the disagreeable consequences of extreme heat, and to refresh and invigorate his exhausted frame.¹ The like indulgence was generally used immediately before supper, the great meal of this luxurious people;² though some adopted a contrary prac-

¹ Ἀλλὰ ἡ πόλις κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡ μεγάλη παύσαμενος πόνου λήγουσα. Artimid: Daldian: Oneir: Lib: 1. c. 66.

² Pro hinc cubiculo te refer, et lectulo lassitudinem remove, et ex arbitrio lavacrum pete nos quarum voces accipis, tuæ famulæ, sedulo tibi præministrabimus, nec corporis curatæ tibi regales epulæ morabuntur. L: Apul: Metam: Lib: 5. in princip:

tice, and never bathed till afterwards.¹ Whatever difference, however, there might be in the times of using them, the baths were places of great resort, and crouded with every description of character—the sensual and the wise; the idle and the active; the spendthrift and the miser; the philosopher and the buffoon.—Here, not only the body of the bather was refreshed by every art of washing, anointing,² rubbing, pinching, squeezing, &c.³ but his eye was amused with the sight of gymnastic exercises, in the surrounding Xysti and porticoes; and his ear gratified with the recitation of poems, songs, and various other compositions, which the authors, for the gratification of their vanity, or for the sale of their works, were wont to repeat to the company assembled at the Baths.

To provide for a practice that contributed so greatly to comfort us well as amusement, and which constant habit had rendered altogether necessary to the Romans, would occupy their immediate attention, after having dispatched the more important concerns of their new colony; and it is probable those remains of splendid baths, discovered in the year 1755, were part of the original *Thermæ* erected at

¹ Οἱ δὲ ἐμψαγοντες, εἴτα δὲ λουονται. Artim. ut supra.

² The luxurious Roman went to a considerable expence both in the ointments used on these occasions, and the materials with which his body was rubbed after their application. Jam Trimalcio unguento tergebatur non linteis, sed palliis ex molliissima lana factis. Petron: Arb. in Satyr: p. 21.

³ Scabor, suppellor, desquamor, pumicor, ornor, Expilor, pingor—Says a bather in Lucilius.

Aquæ Solis, as soon as the conquerors were once settled in that place.¹

The following description of these remains is extracted from the History of Somersetshire; an account which I deemed it necessary to introduce, as they are now entirely hidden from inspection, by buildings erected over them.

“ The walls of these baths were eight feet in height, built
“ of wrought stone lined with a strong cement of terras;
“ one of them was of a semicircular form, fifteen feet in
“ diameter, with a stone seat round it eighteen inches high,
“ and floored with very smooth flag stones. The descent
“ into it was by seven stone steps, and a small channel for
“ conveying the water ran along the bottom, turning at a
“ right angle towards the present King’s Bath. At a small
“ distance from this was a very large oblong bath, having
“ on three sides a colonade, surrounded with small pilasters,
“ which were probably intended to support a roof. On
“ one side of this bath, were two sudatories nearly square,
“ the floors of which were composed of brick, covered
“ with a strong coat of terras, and supported by pillars of
“ brick, each brick being nine inches square, and two inches
“ in thickness. These pillars were four feet and a half high,
“ and set about fourteen inches asunder, composing a
“ Hypocaust, or vault for the purpose of retaining the

¹ They were certainly among the *first* of the Roman works here, being discovered at the depth of *twenty feet* below the surface of the ground; which is four feet lower than any of the other, and probably later fragments of architecture were found,

" heat necessary for the rooms above. The interior walls
 " of these apartments were set round with tubulated bricks
 " or funnels, about eighteen inches long, with a small
 " orifice opening inwards, by which the steam of heat was
 " communicated to the apartment. The fire-place from
 " which the heat was conveyed was composed of a small
 " conical arch at a little distance from the outward wall;
 " and on each side of it, adjoining to the above-mentioned
 " rooms, were two other smaller sudatories of a circular
 " shape, with several small square baths, and a variety of
 " apartments which the Romans used preparatory to their
 " entering either the hot baths or sudatories; such as the *Fri-*
 " *gidarium*, where the bathers undressed themselves, which
 " was not heated at all; the *Tepidarium* which was mode-
 " rately heated, and the *Eleothesion*, which was a small room,
 " containing oil, ointments, and perfumes. These rooms
 " had a communication with each other, and some of them
 " were paved with flag stones, and others beautifully tessell-
 " lated with small dies of various colours. A regular set of
 " well-wrought channels conveyed the superfluous water
 " from these baths to the river Avon."

The new colony being thus furnished with magnificent
 baths, which were found to be not only pleasurable, but
 (from the quality of their springs) extremely healthy also
 to those who used them, soon became a place of resort.
 The Roman enervated by luxury, or worn out with toil,

¹ M. Nitruvius, lib: 8. c. 2.

fought strength and renovation in those very streams which give health and energy to the disabled of the present day; and our British ancestors themselves, quitting, by degrees, the wild recesses of the neighbouring forests, and the rudenesses of savage life, would at length be brought to admire the elegancies, and participate in the delights of *Aquæ Solis*.¹

A progressive improvement in the number and magnificence of the buildings, and a gradual increase in wealth and population, would be the natural consequences of this universal resort to the waters of the sun.—Exclusive, however, of the celebrity which the virtues of its springs conferred on the place; it received an addition of respectability from its being the situation of a *mint*; and the only town in this part of Britain for the manufacture of the legionary arms. The former assertion is rendered probable, from the circumstance of Bath being one of the nine colonies that the Romans established in Britain; which colonies, as well as the two municipia, were indulged with the privilege of minting their own coin. The fact of the great military forge being established at the same place, will be found to be proved by the observations on the first sepulchral monument considered in the following sheets.

¹ Paullatinque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus, et balnea, et convivorum elegantiam: idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur. Tacit: Agric; Vit: c. 21.

The Roman city when compleated, exhibited a pentagon in form; of twelve hundred feet in length, and about eleven hundred feet in breadth, at the widest part. A strong wall nine feet thick, and twenty in height furrounded it. Five circular towers, one at each angle, defended this wall; and four gateways, which, according to the Roman principle, faced the cardinal points, gave entrance into the city. The fosse-road, one of the four great British military ways, ran immediately through it from North to South, and was intersected at right angles, by another street, running in a direction East and West. In the centre of the city, (the scite of the present Abbey church-yard, and the upper part of Stall-street) were situated the Prætorium; the residences of the centurions, and military tribunes; together with the spacious baths, and a magnificent temple dedicated to Minerva.¹ Whilst various other temples, sacella, votive altars, and consecrated statues, were dispersed in other parts, and gave additional splendor to *Aquæ Solis*.

It is probable the far greater part of its inhabitants, at least for a considerable time after the establishment of the colony, consisted of legionaries; as the Romans do not

¹ Many parts of this temple are still preserved, which attest its former elegance, and place its erection at an early period of the Roman dominion in this country. Amongst them are a beautiful Corinthian capital, and an elegant fragment of cornice, equally excellent in their design and execution; and several pieces of columns, architraves, and friezes.—Most of these point at the *Corinthian* order, and lead to the conclusion, that this temple of Minerva was originally of that style of architecture; the only example of it (according to the observation of Mr. Burke, when he saw the remains) as yet discovered in Britain.

appear

appear to have allowed many of the natives to incorporate with them in their settlements of this nature.¹ But at the same time, it cannot be questioned, that some of the Britons would at length, from various causes, be drawn thither; and assist in forming that considerable population which the great extent of the original city proves it to have formerly boasted.

About the year of our Lord 72 or 73, Julius Agricola, whose character and actions have been so admirably detailed by the incomparable Tacitus, was appointed Legate of Britain, by the Emperor Vespasian. It was fortunate for the Roman interests in this country, that a commander so able and vigilant should be named to the regulation of their affairs here; for although their dominion had been but of a few years continuance, yet a sad relaxation in military discipline, and a carelessness and profligacy of manners, had already crept in, which rendered them despicable in the eyes, and open to the attacks of the surrounding Britons. The activity, vigilance, and superior talents of the new proprætor, quickly restored respectability to the Roman arms, and order and discipline amongst the legionaries.

¹ We may infer this from the account Tacitus gives of the *general slaughter* committed by the Britons upon the inhabitants of Verulam, Colchester, and London (the two latter of which were *colonies*), under Bonduca's revolt; a destruction that would have been less universal, had these places been inhabited, in any considerable proportion, by their own countrymen.—Compare Tacit. Annal: lib. 14. c. 33.

The *Silures* and *Ordovices* (inhabitants of Wales), were yet unsubdued; and being a warlike and hardy people, offered a noble harvest of glory to the gallant mind of Agricola. He accordingly bent his attention to that quarter, and in a short time compleatly conquered the whole of Wales, and all its neighbouring isles. But the talents of Agricola were not only such as shone with unrivalled lustre in the field of battle—he was equally qualified to conquer, and to secure his acquisitions by the most salutary political regulations. — Intimately acquainted with human nature, he was aware, that whilst the Roman dominion over the Britons was supported by the principle of fear alone, it would be but precarious and insecure.—He saw that their minds as well as bodies must be subdued, that it was necessary to wean them from their old habits, manners, and modes of thinking, which had all a tendency to keep alive a warm spirit of national pride and courage, and an ardent thirst for liberty, utterly incompatible with systematic subjection.—No sooner had the rigour of winter precluded further military operations therefore, than he directed his attention to the execution of a plan, conceived in the very spirit of political wisdom. The dispersed and uncivilized Britons were called together, and encouraged both by precept and example, to imitate the social habits of Roman life. All the necessary arts were first communicated to them; afterwards such as are more immediately connected with comfort and elegance. They were instructed in Roman literature; taught to admire and imitate Roman architecture; to adopt the Roman garb; to affect
Roman

Roman manners; to practice all the modifications of Roman luxury; and thus, under the fair shew of civilization and refinement, to emasculate their minds; extinguish their native dignity of spirit; and fit themselves for uncomplaining servitude, and irreversible bondage.¹

As the expeditions of Agricola had been hitherto confined to Wales, and its neighbourhood, there is no doubt that part of his army would, during this period, be occasionally at Aquæ Solis; and it is equally probable, this colony would be the chief theatre on which these political arts of the sagacious commander were displayed.

In the year of our Lord 120 the Emperor Hadrian crossed to England, accompanied by the sixth legion. A cohort of this body seems to have been settled at Bath soon after its arrival; as may be inferred from the style of the letters, the nature of the ligatures, and other circumstances in the inscriptions No. 5, and No. 6, which commemorate an officer of this legion, and appear to claim an antiquity as high as the middle of the second century.

¹ Sequens Hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. Namque ut Homines dispersi ac rudes, eoque bello faciles, quieti et otio per voluptates assuescerent: hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa, fœca, domus exstruerent, laudando promptos, et castigando segnes—Ita honoris æmulatio, pro necessitate erat. Iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor, et frequens toga. Paullatimque discessum ad delinimenta viriorum, porticus, et balnea, et conviviorum elegantiam. Idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur. cum pars servitutis esset. Tacit: in Vit: Agric. c. 21. Edit: Elzi. 1665.

Similar

Similar authorities evince that part of the twentieth legion, and a proportion of the Vettonensian horse, were quartered at the same place,¹ but when stationed, or how long they continued at Bath, it is impossible to say. The latter not being mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*, (which survey was drawn up a little previous to the middle of the fifth century) had most likely quitted the island before that time.—Of the former we can glean no information; since the only mention made of them in this country, is contained in our inscription No. 2, and in another found at Bowes in Yorkshire, and preserved by Horsley.²

Towards the commencement of the fifth century, the Romans, being extremely pressed by the incursions of the Gothic nations, found it necessary to withdraw their forces from the distant provinces, in order to defend the heart of the empire; and Britain, of course, amongst their other dependencies, was obliged to render up a proportion of her legionaries. Upwards of twenty thousand Roman soldiers, were, however, still left in the kingdom, and remained there for twenty-five, or thirty years after the first requisition.—But the exigencies of the empire becoming still more pressing, even these were at length recalled; and all the legionaries finally left Britain about the middle of the fifth century, in the reign of Theodosius the second.

¹ Vide No. 1, and No. 2.

² The inscription runs thus: *Dea Fortunæ Virius Lupus Legatus Augustalis prætor balineum vi ignis exustum colons prima Thracum restituit curante Valerio Frontone præfecto equitum alæ Vettonum.* Brit: Rom: Inscip: Yorkshire, No. 1.

Then

Then probably, and not till then, would the Roman inhabitants of Aquæ Solis, reluctantly quit their abodes, and relinquish to the Britons, a city originally raised by Roman labour; decorated by Roman taste; and offering to the voluptuary all the arts of Roman dissipation.

Such is the amount of the scanty and imperfect information which we have been able to collect, relative to the Roman history of Bath.—The numerous remains of classical architecture, however, which have been at various times discovered here, prove, beyond a doubt, that it must have been a magnificent city, in which the fine arts flourished, and were liberally cultivated. The Romans, blending a taste for these, with their passion for dominion, made some amends for their devastations, by immediately adorning what they conquered; and concealing the vestiges of havoc, under the noblest monuments of architecture. Many of the fragments dug up at Bath, are in a style of elegant masonry that marks the æra of their execution to have been during the first century, before the arts were much past their zenith in Rome; most of them, however, are of later date, and were probably executed after the third century, when the arts had sadly degenerated in the western world, owing to the building of Constantinople, and the various irruptions and depredations of the uncivilized Northern nations on the Roman empire.

A considerable number of fragments, and several imperfect inscriptions, exclusive of those illustrated in the
D following

following pages, have been discovered in, and immediately near the city of Bath, at different times.—Many of these are not now to be found, and several which remain, are so mutilated as not to admit any conjecture relative to their original designation.¹ It may, however, be gratifying to the reader to be informed what the inscriptions were; I shall therefore conclude this introduction with a few extracts from Leland, Camden, Guidott, and Horsley, that will afford a general account of them.

John Leland, the antiquary, was authorized by Henry the Eighth, in the 25th year of his reign, to make a tour through the kingdom for the purpose of investigating the national antiquities, more particularly the monastic ones, and collecting charters, deeds, records, manuscripts, &c. from the libraries of the different religious houses. It was

¹ There is one exception to this. In the year 1790, two fragments were dug up, in preparing an excavation for the foundation of the new Pump-room, bearing part of an inscription, cut in sharp and elegant Roman capitals. Puzzling as the letters are in their present state, Governor Pownal has, with infinite ingenuity, and great learning, enucleated their meaning, and recovered the inscription of which they make a part.—He reads it, with the greatest probability, as follows; and supposes it to have been placed in the frieze of an entablature, of a portico, belonging to the *Ædis Salutis*, at *Aquæ Solis*.

AULUS CLAUDIUS LIGURIUS SODALIS ASCITUS FABRORUM COLLEGIO
LONGA SERIA DEFOSSA HANC ÆDEM E NIMIA VETUSTATE LABENTEM DE IN-
VENTA ILLIC PECUNIA REFECI ET REPINGI CURAVIT.

The import of which is; A: C: Ligurius a member of the College of the Fabri, or armourers, refitted and beautified, (from a sum of money found in a *seria* or earthen vessel) the *Ædes Salutis*, or Temple of Health, which was in a ruinous state. Gov. Pownal's description, &c. of Bath Antiquities, p. 11, et infra.

during

during this progress that he visited Bath, where he found the following fragments of Roman masonry.

“ There be divers notable antiquities engraved in stone,
 “ that yet be sene yn the walles of Bathe betwixt the South
 “ gate and the Weste gate; and agayn betwixt the Weste
 “ gate and the North gate.

“ The first was an antique hed of a man made al flat,
 “ and having great lokkes of here as I have in a coine of
 “ *C. Antius*.

“ The secunde that I did se bytwene the South and the
 “ North gate was an image, as I toke it, of Hercules; for
 “ he held yn eche hand a serpent.

“ Then I saw the image of a foote-man. *Vibrato gladio*
 “ *et prætenso clypeo*.

“ Then I saw a braunch with leves folded and wrethin
 “ into circles.

“ Then I saw 2 naked images lying along, the one im-
 “ bracing the other.

“ Then I saw to antique heddes with heere as rofelid yn
 “ lokkes.

“ Then I saw a grey-hound as renning and at the tayle
 “ of hym was a stone engravid with great Roman letters,
 “ but I could pike no sentence out of it.

“ Then I saw another inscription, but the wether had,
“ except a few letters, clere defacid.

“ Then I saw toward the West-gate an image of a man
“ embraced with 2 serpentes. I took it for Laocoon.—

“ Betwixt the Weste and the North-gate.

“ I saw two inscriptions of the which sum wordes were
“ evident to the reader, the residue clene defacid.

“ Then I saw the image of a naked man.

“ Then I saw a stone having *Cupidines et labruscas*
“ *intercurrentes*.

“ Then I saw a table having at eche ende an image vivid
“ and florished above and benath. In this table was an
“ inscription of a tumbe or burial, wher in I saw playnly
“ these wordes, *vixit annos X X X*. This inscription was
“ meately hole but very diffusely written, as letters for hole
“ wordes, and 2 or 3 letters conveid in one.

“ Then I saw a 2 images, whereof one was of a naked
“ manne grasping a serpent in eche hand, as I took it; and
“ this image was not far from the North-gate.

“ Such antiquities as were in the waulles from the North-
“ gate to the Est, and from the Est-gate to the South, hath
“ been

“been defaced by the building of the monastery, and
“new waulles.”

In the year 1522, a sepulchral altar, bearing the following inscription, (in the usual abbreviations) was dug up in the village of Walcot.

CAIUS MURRIUS CAII FILIUS ARNIENSIS (TRIBUS)
FORO JULII MODESTUS MILES LEGIONIS SECUND:
:Æ ADJUTRICIS PIÆ FIDELIS JULII SEGUNDI AN:
:NORUM VIGINTI QUINQUE STIPENDIORUM HIC
SITUS EST.

At the same time this was discovered;

DIS MANIBUS MARCUS VALERIUS MARCI FILIUS
LATINUS CENTURIO EQUES-MILES LEGIONIS VICE:
:SIMÆ ANNORUM TRIGINTA QUINQUE STIPENDI:
:ORUM VIGINTI HIC SITUS EST.

Both these altars, Camden tells us, were removed by Mr. Robert Chambers (a great lover of antiquities) who found them, into his own gardens;¹ and were afterwards inserted in a wall belonging to the house of a Mrs. Chives near the Cross Bath, where Horsley saw them about seventy years ago.

¹ Camden Brit. vol. i. p. 91. Edit. 1722.

² Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 326.

In the inner side of the wall between the North and West gates, were to be seen, in Camden's time, the figure of Hercules holding up his left hand, with his club in the right.—Near it, in a broken piece of stone was this inscription in large and beautiful letters;

DECURIO COLONIÆ GLEVENSIS VIXIT
ANNOS OCTOGINTA ET SEX.——

Attached to this, was the representation of leaves folded in, and in a sepulchral table between two little images, one whereof held an *Amalthean* horn, there were written in characters scarcely legible, and badly executed, these words;

DIS MANIBUS SUCCIÆ PETRONIÆ VIXIT ANNOS
TRES MENSES QUATUOR DIES NOVEM VALERIUS
PETRONIUS — ET TUCTIA SABINA FILIÆ CARISSIMÆ;
FECERUNT.¹

¹ Dr. Guidott gives the following account of this sepulchral altar, together with a different interpretation of its inscription. "Next to that lower, towards the West-gate is the monument of one of the children of two Romans, *Primulus*, *Romulus*, *Vipomulus*, or rather *Viteromulus*, (for that word in the stone is somewhat difficult to be read) and *Viclusarina*, with a longer and exactly Roman inscription, in a sepulchral table, between two little images, whereof the one holds the horn of *Amalthæa*, or *cornucopia*; the other bringeth a flying roll or winding list, or banner over the left shoulder. The inscription thus—*Diis manibus successæ Petroniæ, vixit annos tres, menses quatuor, dies novem. Veteromulus et Viçisarina filicæ Carissimæ fecerunt.* Dr. Guidott's Discourse of the Baths. p. 80.

A little

A little below this, on a broken piece of stone, were the following letters;

V	R	N
I	O	P

Between the West and South gates was a sculpture representing *Ophiucus* enfolded by a serpent;¹ two masculine heads with curling locks; a hare running; and a great stone with these letters:

I	L	I	A
I	L	I	A

A naked man grappling with a foldier; two cumbent figures embracing each other; a foot-soldier with his sword and shield; another with his Hasta; and these letters engraven on a monumental stone;

L	I	I	V	S	S	A
S	V	X	S	O		

together with the head of Medusa.²

¹ Dr. Wynter is of opinion, that " what Mr. Camden calls something of an ancient image of *Hercules* grasping a serpent in his hand, was the local *Hercules* with the reed in his hand, his proper ensign, as tutelar deity of waters; and farther, that his *Ophiucus* enfolded by a serpent between the West and South gate, was the figure of the Greek *Æsculapius*, very proper for this place." Treatise of Bathing, p. 10 and 11. Horsley's Brit. Rom. 329.

² Camden's Brit. v. i. p. 92.

Dr. Guidott mentions a few fragments of Roman masonry as visible in his time, which are not now to be found.

“ Between the West and South-gates were two fierce
“ heads, one within the cope of the wall, and another on
“ the outside thereof. Hard by an angry man laying hold
“ of a poor peasant, which may be a bold insulting Roman,
“ on a distressed captivated Briton.

“ Two kissing and clipping each other, which by the
“ crook in the right hand of one, and the dog upon the
“ other, seem to be a shepherd and his mistress; the dog
“ reaching up towards the head of the woman.

“ A foot-soldier brandishing his sword, and bearing out
“ his shield.

“ A footman with a truncheon in his right hand.

“ A great face, or a giant's head, with hair.

“ At Walcot, a parish adjoining to this city, was found
“ a stone with this inscription:

VIBIA IVCVNDA

... H . S . E

“ *Jucunda* was an Agnomen of the family of *Carvilia*, and
“ it seems of *Vibia*, as *Lætus* of the *Claudia* and *Pomponia*.¹

¹ Guidott's Discourses of the Baths. p. 81.

The Doctor mentions the following coins as having been dug up at Bath.—A brass *Vespasian*, bearing this legend on the face; IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. P. F. AVG. *Imperator Caesar Vespasianus Pius Felix, Augustus*. Reverse: PIETAS AVGVSTI. with the figure of justice between the letters S. C. *senatus consultum*.

A silver *Trajan* with this inscription on the face; IMP. TRAIANO. AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. *Imperator Trajano Augusto Germanico Dacico Pontifici Maximo Tribunitia Potestate*.---Reverse; COS. V. P. P. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINC. *Consuli quinto Patri Patriæ Senatus Populusque Romanus Optimo Principi*.

A brass *Carausius*; the inscription on the face runs thus; IMP. C. CARAVSIVS. P. F. AVG. *Imperator Caesar Carausius Pius Felix Augustus*. On the reverse, PAX. AVG. *Pax Augusti*.

A brass *Alexander Severus* with this inscription; IMP. C. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXAND. AVG. *Imperator Caesar, Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Augustus*. Reverse; P. M : T. M. R. II COS. P. P. *Pontifex Maximus Tribunitia Potestate Secundo Consul Pater Patriæ*.

Mr. Horsley gives an engraving and description of a curious stone he had seen in or near Bath, towards the

¹ Vide Pliny's Epist : xvii, lib : 2.

close of the last century, which was presented to Dr. Musgrave, and at the time of Horsley's writing, remained in the possession of his son.¹

It represents a female head, with the hair highly raised, and curiously dressed, such as appears to have been fashionable in the time of Juvenal, who ridicules it in the following lines:

*Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
Ædificat caput, Andromachen a fronte videbis;
Post minor, credas aliam. Sat: vi. v. 501.*

This piece of antiquity is, I believe, at present preserved in the inestimable collection of Lord Pembroke, at Wilton.

In the repository which contains most of the Remains of Antiquity treated of in the following sheets, are many other fragments of Roman Architecture. These consist of a piece of cornice, elegant in design, and highly finished in point of execution.—Two fragments of a magnificent capital of the Corinthian order—parts of a plain column and pilaster, eighteen inches in diameter. The pediment of a portal with the figures of Genii sculptured on it, and several *hollow tiles*, twelve inches long, nine deep, and four broad, with which the ancients formed the flues that heated their hypocausts, chambers, passages, &c.²

¹ Guidott p. 76.

² Horsley's Brit. Rom. p. 329.





No. I.

NUMBER I.

JULIUS VITALIS FABRICIÆS LEGIONIS VICESIMÆ
VALERIANÆ VICTRICIS STIPENDIORUM NOVEM
ANNORUM VIGINTI NOVEM NATIONE BELGA EX
COLLEGIO FABRICÆ ELATUS HIC SITUS EST.

NUMBER I. represents a monumental stone, discovered in the month of October 1708, by certain workmen, who were digging in, and repairing the road called the Fosse, originally a Roman way, which now forms the London road running through Walcot.

It appears to have been erected to the memory of Julius Vitalis, a native of Belgic Britain, or Western England; an armourer, and stipendiary of the twentieth legion, who died at Bath, in the ninth year of his service, and the twenty-ninth of his age.

Many curious particulars are connected with this inscription, which merit individual consideration.

The Cognomen *Vitalis* is not an unusual one; it occurs frequently in Gruter, and twice in the inscriptions discovered in this country. Dr. Gale has preserved one, wherein mention is made of *Quintus Virius Vitalis*;¹ and Horsley gives us another, found at Drawdikes, in Cumberland, which commemorates a soldier of the same name with the one described in this monumental stone.² It cannot, however, be supposed to refer to the same person; since the former was a Centurion in a Prætorian cohort, and the latter only a common stipendiary, of no dignity or command.

The word *Fabriciesis* (for *Fabriciensis*) denotes the employment of the deceased; and informs us that he had been a member of the *College of Armourers*—What the business of this society, and the laws by which it was regulated, were, we learn from certain articles in the Theodosian and Justinian codes.—It there appears, that in the later periods of the Roman empire, the army smiths were erected into a formal company, under the controul and management of an officer denominated *Primicerius*.³—That the employment of this body, was to make arms for the use of the soldiery, at public forges or shops, called

¹ Gale Anton. Itin : p. 2. o.

² COHORTIS QUARTÆ PRÆTORIANÆ POSUIT CENTURIA JULII VITALIS.
Hors: Cumberland xxxviii.

³ Pancirollus Not: Col: 1498.

Fabricæ,

Fabricæ, erected in their camps, cities, towns, and military stations.—That these arms, when forged, were to be delivered to an officer appointed to receive them, who laid them up in the arsenals for public service.—That to prevent any abuse in this important branch of military œconomy, and to ensure its proper and methodical management, no person was permitted to forge arms for the imperial service unless he were previously admitted a member of the society of the *Fabri*.—That to secure the continuance of their labours after they had been instructed in the art, a certain yearly stipend was settled on each *Faber*; who, (as well as his children) was prohibited from leaving the employ, till he had attained the office of *Primicerius*.—And finally, that no one might quit his business without detection, a mark or stigma was impressed on the arm of each, as soon as he became a member of the college.

That a club or company of this trade was settled, and a public *Fabrica* established at Bath, during the residence of the Romans there, may be fairly inferred, both from the consideration and importance of the place in those times, and the expression, in our inscription, *ex Collegio Fabricæ elatus*; which denotes that the *Fabrica* was in a *neighbouring city*. For it hath been observed by the learned Selden, that the terms *efferre* and *deducere*, in monumental inscriptions, are applicable only to those funerals, in which the bodies were brought from an *immediately adjoining city*,

1. Cod. Theod.: lib. 2. Tit.: 22. Cod. Just.: ix. Novel.: Theod.: xliii.

town, or station, and interred in its contiguous and appropriate public burying ground.

The deceased is further described as belonging to the 20th legion; the titles of which, though contrary to general practice, I have given *Valerian* and *Victorious*. My interpretation is countenanced by the authority of Dion, who expressly says, "that the 20th legion stationed in Britain, in his time, was called *Valerian* and *Victorious*."¹ There were, it is true, more 20th legions than one; but that which received its name from some commander called *Valerius*, is the only one which appears from historical records, or inscriptions, to have served in Britain.² This body of troops came over in the reign of Claudius, and continued here nearly as long as the Romans retained possession of the country.—*Deva* or *Chester* was their head quarters for the better part of three centuries; but our inscription leads us to conclude, they might have changed that station for *Bath*, previous to their departure

¹ Οἱ εἰκοστοὶ οἱ καὶ Οὐαλερίσιοι καὶ νικητορεὶς ὠνομασμένοι, καὶ ἐν Βρεταννίᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ ὄντες, ἔστιν αὐτῶν, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, &c. Lib. LV. P 564.

² The Roman legions took their Cognomens from various circumstances. Sometimes from the names of the *Emperors* who formed them; such as *Legio Augusta*; *Claudiana*; *Galbiana*; *Flavia*; *Trajana*; *Antoniana*.—Sometimes from the *provinces* they had conquered; such as *Parthica*; *Scythica*; *Gallica*; *Arabica*; *Hispaniensis*; or from the *places* in which they were first stationed, after being embodied, such as *Italica*; *Forensis*; *Cyreniaca*;—or from the *names* of the *deities* to whom the *Emperors* that formed them were more particularly attached, such as *Minerva*; *Apollinaris*—or lastly from certain particular *circumstances* by which they were distinguished, such as *Legio Germina*; *Adjutrix*; *Martia*; *Victrix*; *Ferrata*; *Fulminatrix*; *Alauda*; *Rapax*; *Primigenia*; and so forth.—Vide Dempster *Antiq. Rom.* c. 4. p. 966.

from

from England. The shape of the letters, and the ligatures and complications which appear in the fifth and seventh lines, mark the inscription for a late one; and authorize us to suppose, the monument might be erected towards the close of the fourth century, about which time, it is probable the 20th legion left this kingdom.

The 4th and 5th lines contain a notification of the age of the deceased, and his time of service; by which we find he had entered rather later than was common into military employ.—The age at which the Roman youth assumed the *toga militaris*, or soldier's habit, was seventeen;¹ a practice beautifully alluded to in the following lines of Silius Italicus.

*Pubescit castris miles, Galeaque teruntur
Nondum signatæ flavâ lanugine malæ.²*

But although the *enrollment* of the youth took place at the age of seventeen, it is manifest both from the above inscription and many others in Gruter's collection, that they were not always called immediately into actual service.--- The legions being previously compleat, or many other circumstances, might occasion a considerable interval to elapse from the time of nomination, to their being incorporated; and as, during this period, they were not intitled to a

¹ Liv : 3. Decad. Lib. 5.

² Sil : Ital : Lib, 2.

stipendium,

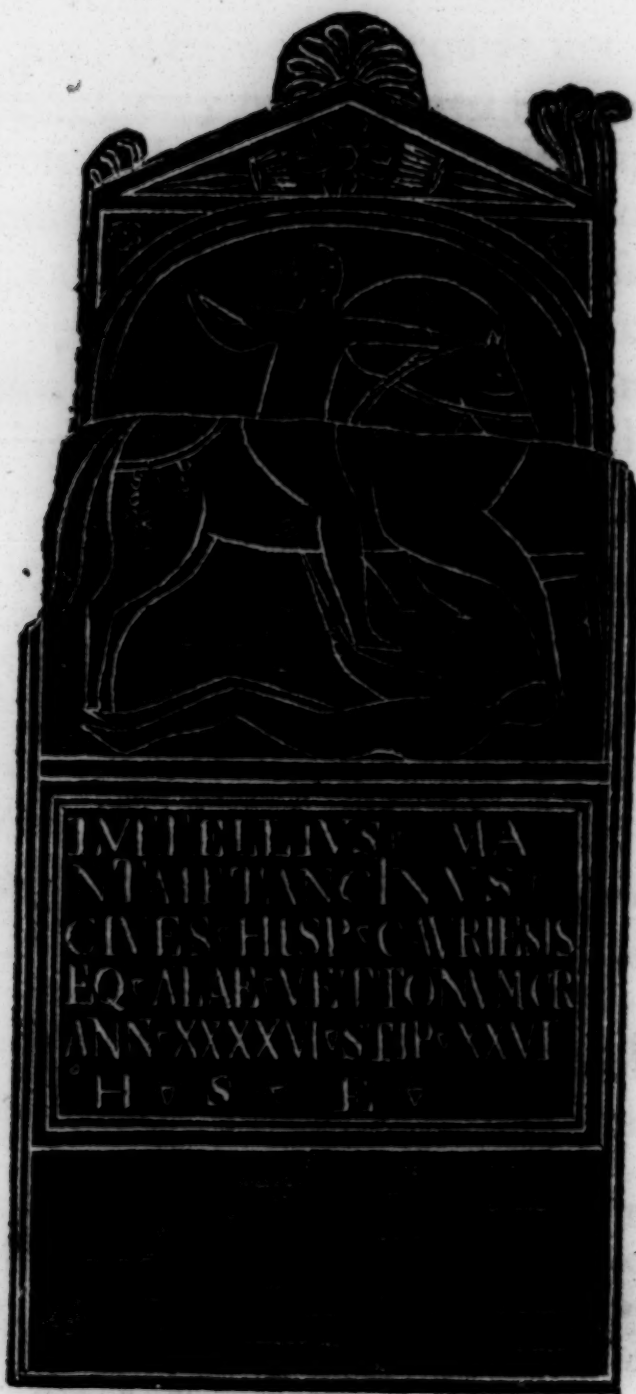
stipendium, or pay, they were of course not considered as legionaries, though they had assumed the military garb.--- Horsley has preserved another curious inscription, dug up about two hundred years ago, in the then village of Walcot, commemorating a Centurion of the same twentieth legion, who appears to have been an exception to the general practice of not commencing the military career till after the age of seventeen, since at his decease, at thirty-five, he had served twenty campaigns, and consequently must have been in actual employ when only fifteen years old.

The words *Natione Belga* (for *Belgica*), inform us that the deceased was a Briton, probably a native of Somersetshire, which county constituted a part of the division called by the Romans *Britannia Belgica*.

This stone is at present fixed in the wall at the eastern end of the Abbey-church; is seven feet four inches in height, and thirty-four inches in breadth.

1 DIS MANIBUS MARCUS VALERIUS MARGI FILIUS LATINUS CENTURIO
EQUES MILES LEGIONIS VICESIMÆ ANNORUM TRIGINTA QUINQUE STIPEN-
DIORUM VIGINTI HIC SITUS EST. Horsley Brit: Rom; Somerset: No. 111.





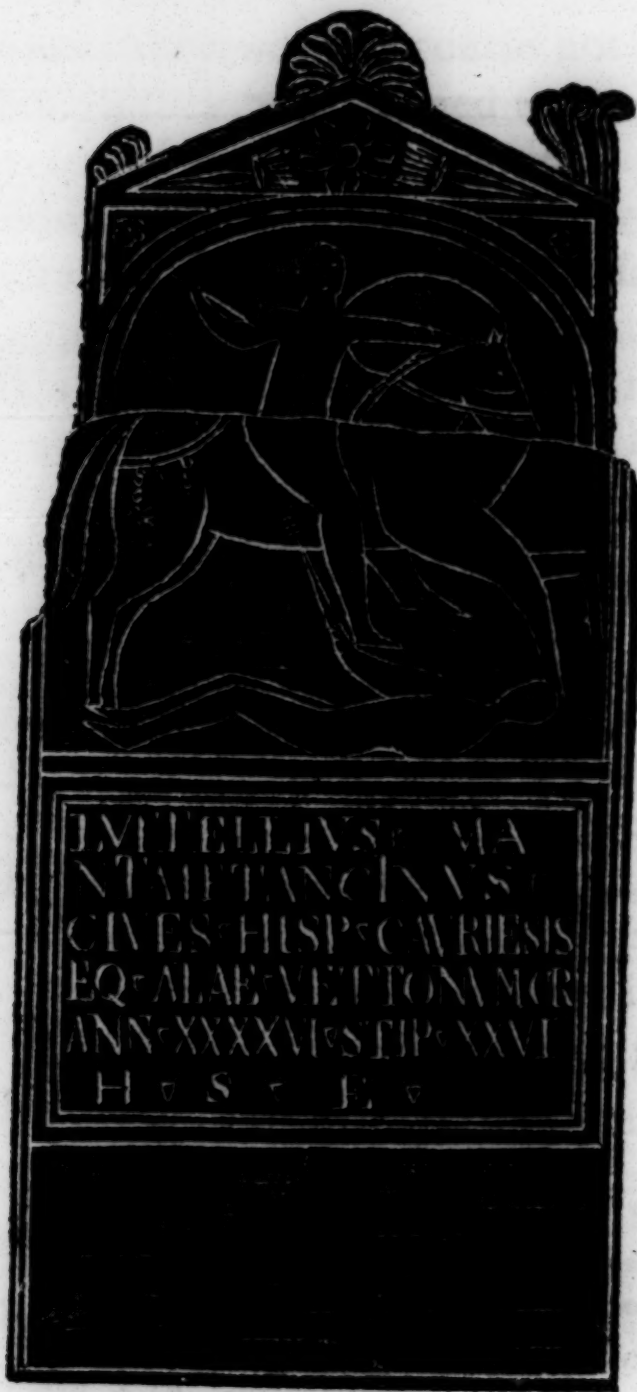
No. II.

 NUMBER II.

LUCIUS VITELLIUS MANTANI FILIUS TANCINUS CIVES
 HISPANIÆ CAURIESIS EQUITUM ALÆ VETTONUM
 CENTURIO ANNORUM XXXXVI. STIPENDIORUM
 XXVI. HIC SITUS EST,

THE inferior part of this monumental stone, containing the above inscription, was erected to the memory of *Lucius Vitellius Tancinus*, the son of *Mantanus*, a citizen of *Caurium*, in Spain, centurion of the Vettonensian auxiliary horse;¹ who died in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the twenty-

¹ "Altera pars exercitus auxilia erant. Sic autem dicebantur ii milites qui a sociis, "vel e fœderatis gentibus mittebantur." Dempster p. 964. The Roman auxiliaries were the troops levied in those cities and towns, on whose inhabitants the title and privileges of Roman citizens had been conferred. These were formed into cohorts, and attached to particular legions, of which they made a part, and were denominated auxiliaries. When the army was marshalled for battle, they were usually placed at the two extremities of the line. Hence the auxiliary foot were often termed *Cornua* or horns; and the horse, *Alæ* or wings. "Alæ dictæ sunt exercitus, Equitum ordinis, "quod circum legiones, dextra sinistraque tanquam Alæ in avium corpore locobantur." Dempster, p. 980. The politic wisdom of the Romans induced them to



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twenty-sixth of his military service. This, and the fragment now placed above, and attached to it, have been hitherto considered as constituting one piece of sculpture; but the erroneoufness of the opinion will be sufficiently obvious, when the respective dimensions of the two stones, and the proportions of their figures are attended to, which prove that the parts had no connection originally with each other.—Add to this also, they were found in places widely separate; the upper part near to Grosvenor Gardens, and the lower one on the scite of the present Market-house.

The former has been conjectured, and with some probability, to be the moiety of a monumental stone erected to the honor of *Geta*, one of the sons of *Septimius Severus*, who, about the year of our Lord one hundred and ninety-six, was left by his father in this part of the kingdom to administer justice, during his absence on a Northern expedition.

One prominent feature in the character of this prince was an unbounded passion for horses; a foible which the degenerate senate of the times took care to flatter, by

continue to the auxiliaries the use of such arms, as they had been in the habit of handling in their own countries, and in the management of which they had of course attained to great excellence and expertness. And hence it was, that their armies were provided with the best warriors of every kind, that the world could produce. The Balearic islands, Minorca and Majorca furnished them with slingers—Crete with bowmen—Numidia with light horse—Spain with heavy cavalry—Greece with engineers—and Rhodes and Epirus gave consequence to their marine, by sending admirable ship-wrights, and experienced naval commanders.

impressing

impressing on his coins, the figure of the youth in the character of *Castor*,¹ cloathed in a military equestrian drefs.²—And as this was considered on the continent as an high compliment, it is not unlikely that sycophants would be found in the province where he commanded, to pay him similar adulation; and to gratify his vanity, by erecting altars, exhibiting him in his favorite character.

The upper sculpture is much defaced; but sufficient of it remains to shew that it is an equestrian figure, bearing in his left hand a *parma*,³ and in his right a *hasta pura*;⁴ and pursuing a flying enemy. The under one, represented a Spanish, horseman in the garb of his nation, riding over a prostrate foe.

The name *Tancinus* seems to have been a Spanish cognomen, since it occurs in an inscription found in the province of Lusitania, and preserved in Gruter's collection; "*M: Licinius Tancinus—H: S: E:*"⁵

The deceased soldier is also mentioned to have been a citizen of *Caurium*,⁶ a town of Lusitania, in the district of Estrema-

¹ *Castor gaudet equis, ovo prognatus eodem Pagnis.* Hor.

² Oiefelius Thes. Sel Num. in Verb. *Geta*.

³ A small light, commodious shield or target, adapted by its size, for the cavalry. *Brevis clypeus, rotundus et undique par.* Not: in *Æn: 10. v. 800.*

⁴ A missile weapon or spear, with which the horse were furnished, having for the sake of lightness, no iron about it.—*Pura Juvenis qui mittitur hasta.* *Æn: lib. 6. 6.*

⁵ Grut: *Inscrip: 917—8.*

⁶ The word is written *Cauriefs* for *Cauriensis*; the letter N being dropped—This omission is not unusual in ancient inscriptions, of which there are many extant,

Éstremadura,¹ invested with municipal privileges; that is, enjoying the use of its own ancient laws and constitutions, together with the rights and franchises of Roman citizens.³ The *Vettones* were a neighbouring people, who furnished excellent heavy-armed horse levies to their Roman masters. Its *ala*, or wing, here spoken of, was probably attached to the twentieth legion; in this *Tancinus* bore the office of centurion; a command somewhat analogous to the captaincy of a troop in our service.

Points or stops in ancient inscriptions are good criteria of their antiquity. In the earlier periods of the empire, these consisted merely of simple round dots. About the time of Antoninus Pius, however, the workmen began to deviate from this simplicity; and becoming gradually more capricious, introduced at length stops of various forms;

wherein the engraver seems to have spelled the word according to the popular mode of pronunciation, which frequently neglected to sound the *N* before the letter *S*, when it occurred in the middle of a word. Phil. Trans. No. 357. Also last inscription in verb: *Fabricies* pro *Fabriciensis*—This practice was gradually admitted into the Roman orthography; and being countenanced by Augustus Cæsar (as we learn from Suetonius) it soon gained such a footing as to be adopted into the language of the best scholars.—“Orthographiam, id est formulam rationemque scribendi, a Grammaticis institutam, non adeo custodiit; ac videtur eorum potius sequi opinionem, qui perinde scribendum, ac loquamur, existiment. Nam quod sæpe non literas modo, sed syllabas aut permutat, aut præterit, communis hominum error est.” Sueton: in Vit: Aug: c. 88.

¹ Lusitaniæ opp. Ptol: quæ et Caura vulgo Coria. In Estremadura Region: juxta Alagonem Flav: qui septem inde Leuc: cadit in Tagum; 5 Leuc: a confinio Portugalliæ, &c. Hoffmanni Lexicon, Tom. i. P. 778.

² Municipium oppidum erat jure civium Romanorum donatum. Rosinus Ant: Rom: Lib: x. c. xxii.

angular,

angular, triangular, leaf-shaped, and rhomboidal. The form of those in our inscription are of this fantastical nature, and prove it to be a very late one; probably coeval with that which we last considered.

The initials H: S: E: which merely notify that the deceased was interred near to the stone that commemorates him, conveys a pleasing idea of the simplicity of the Romans with respect to their monumental inscriptions.—These wise people were aware, that as “the storied urn, the “animated bust,” or the tinsel of sepulchral flattery, could not give future renown to departed infamy, so neither were they aids, to which worth and virtue had occasion to look, for the praise of posterity;

“ The *actions* of the *just*
“ Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust.”

This monumental stone is also fixed in the wall at the Eastern end of the Abbey-church—its height is five-feet; the breadth of the lower part is 36 inches; of the upper part 28 inches.



argument, however, that, left intact, the
form of the book in our possession is of
great value, and that it is to be regretted
that the book is not in a better state of
preservation.

The volume is a valuable one, and it is
to be regretted that it is not in a better
state of preservation. It is a valuable
volume, and it is to be regretted that it
is not in a better state of preservation.

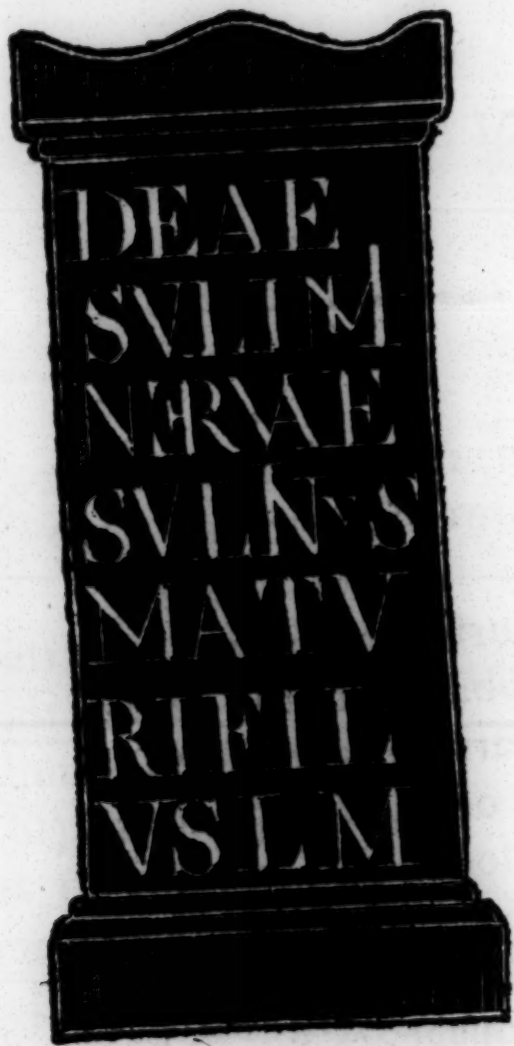
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No. III.

NUMBER III.

DE Æ SULINI MINERVÆ SULINUS MATURI FILIUS VOTUM
SOLVIT LIBENS MERITO.

THIS is a votive altar, turned up in 1774, as the workmen were removing the rubbish from the head of the spring of the Hot Bath. It appears to have been solemnly dedicated to the tutelary deity of the Bath waters; (to whom the devotee has given the local title of *Sulinis*) and was probably intended as a grateful return for benefit received from the use of these springs, which were under her immediate protection and patronage.

On considering the character of the extraordinary people, by one of whom this memorial of pious superstition was erected, we cannot help remarking a very striking feature of it; the warm spirit of religion by which it was distinguished from the earliest period of the commonwealth, to the lowest times of the empire. Originally incorporated with their constitution by the great Roman legislator

legislator Numa, (who knew full well that religion was absolutely necessary to the establishment and security of civil government) the principle gradually expanded, as the Republic increased; entered into all their public concerns, and domestic transactions; entwined itself with every profession in which they engaged, and was connected with every plan which they undertook.—It is to this religiousness of spirit, that we are to attribute the numerous temples, altars, and other memorials of their devotion, which we meet with so abundantly in every place where the Romans had been for any considerable time stationary. If an evil were to be deprecated, or a blessing invoked, the votary entered into a solemn engagement to raise some monument of his gratitude to the benign being who should hear his prayer, and comply with his petition; a vow which success never rendered him unmindful to perform.¹ As the salutary waters of Bath were generally resorted to by the Romans for nearly four centuries, it is probable that a very large number of these

¹ Votum solvit libens merito.—He *willingly* fulfilled the vow which he had deservedly made, was the language in which the Roman expressed his readiness to observe this sacred engagement.—All the ancients indeed were very strict in this respect.—It is a precept of Pythagoras:

Αθανάτους μὲν πρῶτα θεῶς, νόμῳ ὡς διακρίνεται,

Τίμα, καὶ σέβει οὐκ ὀκνῶν.—that is, an oath or vow made to them.

And Æneas before he attends to other pressing concerns, takes care to fulfill his vows to the Gods.

Æneas (quanquam et fociis dare tempus humandis
Præcipitant curæ, turbataque funere mens est)

Vota Deum primo Victor solvebat Eoö.—

Virg: En: 11—2.

votive

votive altars would be erected to the tutelary deity of their springs, by those who left them with renovated health and vigour; and, doubtless, the foundations of the present city cover many precious remains of this nature, which, if discovered, would afford further examples of the united art and piety of the conquerors of the world.

With respect to the *situation* of these altars, no particular rule seems to have been observed. They were many times placed in the temples of the divinity to whom they were dedicated; and as often erected near the public ways, or other frequented spots, that they might be conspicuous testimonies of the kindness of the propitious deity, and the pious gratitude of his worshipper. The diminutive size of the altar under consideration, and its being found on the site of the ancient temple of Minerva, render it probable, that it was originally placed within the walls of that magnificent fane.

It was a principle of policy with the Romans to adopt into their own mythology, the various deities of the different nations they subdued; a practice that displayed the profoundest knowledge of the human mind.¹ For as there is nothing that speaks more powerfully to the hopes and fears of man than religion; so there is nothing which makes a deeper impression on the soul, that is retained with

¹ It is a remark of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, that there were six hundred different kinds of religions, or sacred rites exercised at Rome. Jortin's Remarks on Eccl.; Hist.; v. i, p. 371.

greater

greater tenacity, or renounced with more reluctance. It was this indulgence shewn to the religious prejudices of the conquered nations; this allowance of the free exercise of their accustomed modes of worship, that both facilitated the Roman successes, and gave them stability; that stripped conquest of half its horrors, and made the yoke of servitude tolerably easy. With respect to Britain, indeed, it was necessary for them to depart, in some degree, from their usual moderation; for such was the wonderful influence which the Druids had obtained over the minds of their disciples, that all the arts of Roman policy would have been insufficient to reduce the Britons to order and subordination, had they permitted a superstition so ferocious and indomitable to have continued.—To modify it in any shape, or to incorporate it with their own system, was impossible; since the profound veneration and implicit deference paid by the conquered nation to the ministers of their religion, as well as the savage nature of it,¹ effectually precluded all hope of reconciling them to a milder system, whilst Druidism existed. Prudence therefore dictated to the Romans to forego, on this occasion, their general lenity; and this wonderful superstition (with all its bloody rites), was at length consumed in the flames of the sacred groves of Mona.²

It

¹ Cæsar de Bell: Gall: Lib: vi.

Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque finistrum.

Sacrorum Druidæ positis repetitis ab armis—Lucan Phar: L: i. 445.

² The dreadful ferocity with which Druidism inspired even the weaker sex, is well described by Tacitus; a ferocity, that, for a time, disturbed the steady bravery of the Roman legions. “ Stabat pro litore diversa acies, densa armis vi-

“ risque

It is to be observed, however, that this harshness of the Romans was confined, in a great degree, to the more Northern, and North-Western parts of Britain. — The communication which the Southern or Belgic principalities had for some time preserved, through the medium of commerce, with the inhabitants of the continent, had improved their manners, and softened the savage character of their ancient superstition. They had discarded the sanguinary practices of Druidism, and imbibed so much of the spirit of Polytheism, as to admit the existence of all those subordinate intelligences, with which the orthodox Pagan, believed every part of created space to be filled.—By them, therefore, the mythology of their conquerors would be readily received; and the divinities of South-Britain were quickly associated with the deities of Rome.

The Goddess SULINIS, mentioned in our inscription, seems to have been a local deity of this kind.—The altars, No. 5 and 6, are dedicated to her individually, with no additional name; and as they appear to be the grateful offerings

“ *risque, intercurfantibus feminis; in modum Furiarum, veste ferali, crinibus*
 “ *dejectis, faces præferebant. Druidæ circum preces diras sublati ad cælum mani-*
 “ *bus fundentes, novitate aspectûs perculere milites, ut quasi hærentibus membris,*
 “ *immobile corpus vulneribus præberent. Dein cohortationibus ducis, et se ipsi*
 “ *stimulantes, ne muliebri et fanaticum agmen pavescerent, inferunt signa, sternuntque*
 “ *obvios, et igni suo involvunt. Præsidium posthac impositum victis, excisique luci*
 “ *sævis superstitionibus sacri nam cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fibris*
 “ *consulere Deos fas habebant. Tacit; Ann: Lib: xiv. 39.*

of certain invalids who had received benefit by the use of the waters, it is reasonable to suppose she was the tutelary deity, or Nymph of the Bath springs. To these imaginary beings it was very usual with the ancients to erect altars, and make vows.—Indeed the worship of rivers and springs, was one of the most early superstitions that misled mankind. The limpid element being considered as an admirable emblem of the purity of the great first cause, it was soon made one of the intermediate vehicles of communication with the deity. This practice insensibly begot the idea of there being an inherent sanctity in the element itself; an opinion, to which ignorance and error gradually added the more absurd one, of inferior Deities inhabiting, or presiding over each fountain, spring, and river.

In process of time the superstition became almost universal; and there was scarcely a country which did not pay divine honors to its own streams.¹

Egypt, famed for mental error and moral darkness, first adopted the practice, and regarded with peculiar veneration, the river Nile, the father of their country, the great source of their wealth and plenty.² From hence, this superstition flowed, with many others, into Greece; and as early as Homer's time vows were made, and religious rites offered to rivers. To the Thessalian stream Sperchius,

¹ Εστὶ καὶ ποταμῶν τιμὴ. Max. Tyrius. C. 8. P. 79.

² Νεῖλον τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ σωτῆρα τῆς χώρας. Plutarch. Symp. L. 8 P. 729.

(that

(that is to the genius or deity supposed to reside in it), Peleus, the father of Achilles, promised to sacrifice an Hecatomb; fifty sheep, and the flowing locks of his son, if he returned safely to his native land.

Σπερχει, ἀλλῶς σοι γέ πατήρ κρησατο Πηλεὺς,
 Κεῖσε με νοσησαντα Φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν,
 Σοὶ δὲ κομὴν κερσαίν, ρέξειν δ' ἱερὴν ἑκατομβήν·
 Πεντεκόντα δ' ἐνορχα παρ' αὐτοῦ μὴλ' ἱερεύσειν
 Ἐς πηγὰς, ὅθι τοι τεμένει βωμὸς τε θυῆας.¹

The Romans receiving the fanciful mythology of Greece, adopted, of course, this branch of it. They consecrated particular days to the worship of the subordinate intelligences who presided over the springs and rivers of their country; on which, amongst other tokens of veneration, shewn to them, chaplets of flowers were cast into the

¹ Sperchie, frustra tibi utique pater vovit Peleus,
 Illuc me reversum dilectum in patriam terram,
 Tibique comam abscissurum, mactaturumque sacram Hecatombem;
 Quinquaginta insuper masculas ibidem oves sacrificaturum
 Ad fontes, ubi tibi ager facer altareque odoratum,

ΠΑΙΔΑ. Ψ. 144. The sacrifice of the *head of hair* to Rivers, was usual with the ancients, as the Scholiast observes; who also gives us the Reason for it. ΕΘΘΗΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΙΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟ ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΜΑΣΘΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΟΤΗΤΟΣ, ΤΑΙΣ ΚΟΜΑΙΣ ΑΠΟΚΕΙΡΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΙΣ· ΤΟΥΤΗΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΥΟΜΙΖΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΑΙΤΙΩΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ. Schol: in Loc.

Virgil makes his hero Æneas, on his reaching the mouth of the Tyber, immediately invoke the nymphs and unknown deities of the stream.

Nymphasque et adhuc ignota precatur
 Numina:—

Vig: Æn: vii. L. 137.

streams,

streams, and crowns of the same were placed on the borders of the wells.¹

But this superstition far from being confined to Egypt, Greece, and Rome, infested, as I have before hinted, most other nations. Persians,² Parthians,³ and Phrygians,⁴ bowed before the tutelary gods of their rivers; and the numerous Celtic tribes worshiped the Genii or Dæmons, who peopled the various streams that flowed through their extensive country.⁵

From these circumstances, it appears to be more than probable, that the Goddess SULINIS was the inferior intelligence, to whom the Britons attributed the tutelage of the Bath springs; and to whom they gave the Cognomen

¹ Varro Lib: 5. de Ling. Lat.

² Σεβονται ποταμὸς μαλίστα. Herod. L. 1. c. 138.

³ Parthis. præcipua omnibus veneratio. Justin L. 41 c. 3.

⁴ Φρυγες οἱ περὶ Κελαινας νεμομενοι τιμῶσι ποταμὸς δύο, Μαρσύραν καὶ Μαιανδρὸν. - Δυσσεὶ Φρυγες τοῖς ποταμοῖς. Max. Tyr. Difs. 8. P. 87.

⁵ Thulitæ complures Genios colunt. Aereos, terrestres, marinos, et alia minora Dæmonia, quæ in aquis fontium et fluminum versari dicuntur. Procopius Goth: Lib: 2. The Germanic nations also, which bordered on Italy, held similar opinions; as is manifest from a passage in Tacitus; where, in answer to a proposal made in the senate, for altering the course of the Tyber, an objection was made that the intended alteration might interfere with the religion of the Roman allies, who had dedicated groves and altars to their national streams. Spectandas etiam religiones sociorum, qui sacra, et lucos, et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint. Tacit: Annal. Lib: i. c. 79. p. 48. Edit: Elziv.

MINERVA, because in her attributes and attachments she bore some resemblance to that Deity.

This altar is about thirty inches in height, and twelve in width.¹

¹ This altar is placed, at present, on the great staircase of the Guild-hall, and with it, is another of nearly similar shape and size.—The inscription of the altar is so defaced, that I could not make it out; in the History of Somersetshire it stands as follows: (vol, i. p. 14).

DEAE DIA
NAE SACRATI
SSIMAE VOTV
M SOLVIT V
VETTIVS BE
NIGNVS. L.M.



NUMBER

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VI 40



No. IV.

NUMBER IV.

DIIS MANIBUS. CAIUS CALPURNIUS RECEPTUS SACER-
DOS DEÆ SULINIS VIXIT ANN LXXV. — — —
CALPURNIA CONJUNX FACIENDUM CURAVIT.

THE altar we are now to illustrate is a sepulchral Cippus, commemorating *Caius Calpurnius*, a priest of the Goddess *Sulinis*, who died at the age of seventy-five. His wife *Calpurnia* caused this tribute to his memory to be erected. It was dug up by some labourers about two years since, as they were working in Sydney-Gardens.

The ancients, both Greeks and Romans, held every thing which regarded the dead, in great veneration; and the laws relative to sepulture, funeral obsequies, &c. make no small part of their legal institutions.

Previous to the publication of the twelve tables, it was customary with the latter, to burn, or inter the bodies
H of

of the departed, within the walls of the city.¹ But as several inconveniencies were experienced from the practice, one article of this code was expressly levelled against it; *Hominem mortuum, in urbe, ne sepelito, neve, urito*;² a law which did not regard Rome alone, but extended itself to every city of the empire.

This prohibition obliged the Romans to seek out other places of interment; and it was not long before they adopted the custom of burying the dead, and performing the obsequies, a little without their towns, erecting the sepulchres, by the side of the public high-ways.—A practice to which they were led by the two-fold reason of thus rendering their piety and gratitude more conspicuous; and exciting the numerous travellers and passengers to serious reflection on the precariousness of life, and the certainty of dissolution,³

That these public roads were the general places of sepulture, is evident both from the numerous funeral altars discovered immediately contiguous to them, and from various allusions to the practice in the works of the poets.

¹ In their own gardens, or near their own residences were frequently the places of interment.

Sedibus hunc refer ante suis, et conde sepulchro. *Æn*: L: 5.

² Cicero Lib. 2. de Leg. Credo (inquit Cicero) vel propter ignis Periculum.

³ Monumenta enim in sepulchris secundum viam sunt, quæ prætereuntes admonent et se fuisse, et illos esse mortales. Varro, Lib: 5. de Ling: Lat.

Thus

Thus Juvenal——

——*Experiar quid concedatur in illos,
Quorum Flaminia tegitur Cinis, atque Latina.*¹

Also Propertius——

*Dii faciant mea ne terrâ locet ossa frequenti
Qua facit assiduo tramite vulgus iter.*²

Again——

Non juvat in media nomen habere viâ——³

And lastly——

*Si te fortè meo ducet via proxima busto.*⁴

But that the sepulchral altars thus erected in public and exposed situations, might be protected from destruction, or violation, the Roman law made them a particular object of its cognizance,⁵

It was an institution originally of *Solon*, afterwards adopted by the *Decemviri*, who digested the twelve tables, that the person who defaced a sepulchre; broke it; erased its inscription; or beat down the monument, should suffer

¹ Juv : Sat. 1. in. fin.

² Lib: 3. Eleg: 16.

³ Id.

⁴ Id. Lib. 2. l. 85.

⁵ Sepulchrorum autem sanctitas in ipso solo est quod nulla vi moveri, neque deleri potest. Dempster's Antiq: Rom: p. 784.

death, Nay, so careful were the laws, of these man-
sions of the dead, that even a near approach to them was
expressly forbidden, except at the time of performing the
obsequies, or offering the annual sacrifices.²

Perhaps, however, all these legal restraints would have
been insufficient to guard them from wanton violence, had
they not been defended also by the sanction of superstition.
It was this powerful principle that operated most strongly
in their favour; and rendered them objects of awful vene-
ration, even with the lowest populace, who avoided, with
the most careful circumspection, every spot where the
ashes of the dead were deposited.—The pious Polytheists
were firmly persuaded that the violation of them was a
sin of no less magnitude than sacrilege; a crime which
would inevitably draw down upon the guilty wretch, the
exemplary vengeance of Heaven;—

Ἡ γὰρ οὐδὲ ζάλαν Ἀφάρηϊν ἐξάνεχθσαν
Τυμβῶ αναρρηξας ταχέως Μεσανιῶ Ἰδας,
Μελλε κασιγνητοιο Βάλαν ἀφειεροιο Φονῆα.
Ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐπαμυνε χερῶν δὲ οἱ ἐκβαλε τυμβῶν,
Μαρμαρον, αὐτοῦ δὲ φλογεῶ σννεφλεξε κεραυνῶ.³

¹ Cic : de Leg : Lib : 2.

² Plutarchus in Vit : Solon.

³ Nam profecto columnam in Apharei extantem
Sepulchro erutam celeriter Messenius Idas
Projecturus erat in fratris sui interfectorem :
Sed Iupiter opem tulit, manibusq illius excussit fabrefactum
Marmor, ipsumq flammeo combussit fulmine.
Theoc : Id : H. C. 207.

The initials D. M. at the head of the inscription inform us, that the altar was dedicated to the *Dii Manes*.

With respect to these imaginary beings, the ancients do not appear to have had any precise or determinate ideas.¹ — Sometimes they were taken for the infernal deities; and in this sense they seem to be invoked in the fourth *Georgic*;

*Quo fletu Manes, quâ Numina voce maueret.*²

Sometimes for the shade or ghost of the deceased, as appears to be the meaning of the expression in the following passage;

*Libabat cine Andromache, manesque vocabat
Heclorem ad tumulum.*³

For it is to be remarked, the ancients were of opinion, that at the dissolution of any person, his *anima*, soul, or spiritual part, was waisted into Heaven; his body remained in the earth where it had been deposited; and his *Umbra*, *Imago*, *Shade*, or *Ghost*, descended to the infernal regions.

¹ Sumuntur pro mortuorum animis, et pro loco ipso inferorum, ubi animi degunt, et pro diis ipsis inferorum.—Vide Not: in Virg: Georg: Lib. iv. L. 469. Animas Hominum Dæmones esse, et ex hominibus fieri *Lares*, si meriti boni sint; *Lemures* sive *Larvas*, si mali; *Manes* autem cum incertum est bonorum eos, sive malorum esse meritorum.—Plotinus apud, Aug. civit: p. Dei, 81, ix. 11.

² Virg: Georg: iv. L. 505,

³ Æn: Lib: iii. v. 302,

But

But whatever their notions might be in respect to the *Manes* themselves, yet they appear to have regarded them with the most scrupulous superstition.—The *Cippi*, as I have before observed, were esteemed sacred. Particular sacrifices were appointed to be offered upon them; and certain anniversary days set apart for celebrating these holy rites.¹

On the ninth, and thirtieth days after interment, the relations of the deceased visited the tomb, and paid a variety of honors to the manes of the departed.—Honey, wine, water, milk, and barley-flour, were poured, and sprinkled upon the altar;

Χοας χεομεν πασι νεκυεστιν.

Πρωτα μελικρητω, μετεπειτα δε ηδεϊ οινω,

Το τριτον αυθ' υδατι επι δ' αλφιστα λευκα παλυνον²

¹ These days were called *Feralia*, and occurred about the middle of February. Ovid in his *Fasti* has enumerated the rites, then observed :

Est honor et tumulis animas placare paternas,

Parvaeque in extructas munera ferre Pyras.

Parva petunt manes, pietas pro Divite grata est

Munere, non avidos Styx habet ima deos.

Tegula porrectis fatis est velata coronis,

Et sparsæ fruges parvaeque mica falis.

Inque mero mollita Ceres, violæque solutæ :

Hæc habeat media testa relicta via.

Nec majora veto, sed et his placabitis umbra est :

Adde preces positis et sua verba focis.

² Hom : *Odyss*; b. v. 26.

Sometimes

Sometimes a libation of blood was made; with which the ancients supposed the Manes, or Ghosts, were much delighted.

*Inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte,—
Sanguinis et sacri pateras.*¹

And again, at the anniversary of Anchises' death, sacred blood is mingled with the other libations.

*Hic duo viti mero libens carchesia Baccho,
Fundit humi, duo lacte novo, sanguine sacro.*²

Certain flowers, also, which were esteemed to be particularly agreeable to the infernal deities, were on these occasions, laid on the tomb, or scattered around it;

*Purpureosque jacit flores, ac talia fatur.*³

And the monument itself, was solemnly anointed with precious unguents and sweet perfumes;

*Afferet huc unguenta mihi fertisque sepulchrum
Ornabit, Custos ad mea busta sedens.*⁴

¹ Æn: Lib: iii. vr 56.

² Æn: Lib: v. v. 77.

³ Id; Lib. v. v. 79.

⁴ Propert: Eleg: Lib: 33 Eleg: 15.

An attention which Anacreon, in the true spirit of jollity, intreats, may be paid to himself whilst living, rather than to his tomb-stone, when he is no more ;

τι σε δει λιθον μυριζειν ;
 Τι δε γη χεειν ματαια ;
 εμε μαλλον, ως ετι ζω,
 μυρισον ; ροδοις δε κρατα
 πυκασον.¹

As the sepulchral altar we are considering has no *focus*, it appears to be one of those which they termed *αναιμαντοι και εμψυροι*, not intended for fire or blood, but merely for the oblation of prayers, and the occasional offering of funereal flowers, &c.

*Manibus date lilia plenis
 Purpureos spargam flores, Animamque nepotis
 Hic saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
 Munere;*²

The *Calpurnian* family, to which the deceased belonged, was one of the noblest in Rome. According to Plutarch, it traced its origin from Calpo, the son of Numa Pompilius; an assertion which Ovid corroborates;

¹ Anacreon Od. 3; Quid te opus est Lapidem meum inungere?
 Quid autem terræ infundere vana?
 Me magis, ut adhuc vivo,
 Unge, rosis autem caput meum
 Necte.

² *Æn*: vi. v. 883.

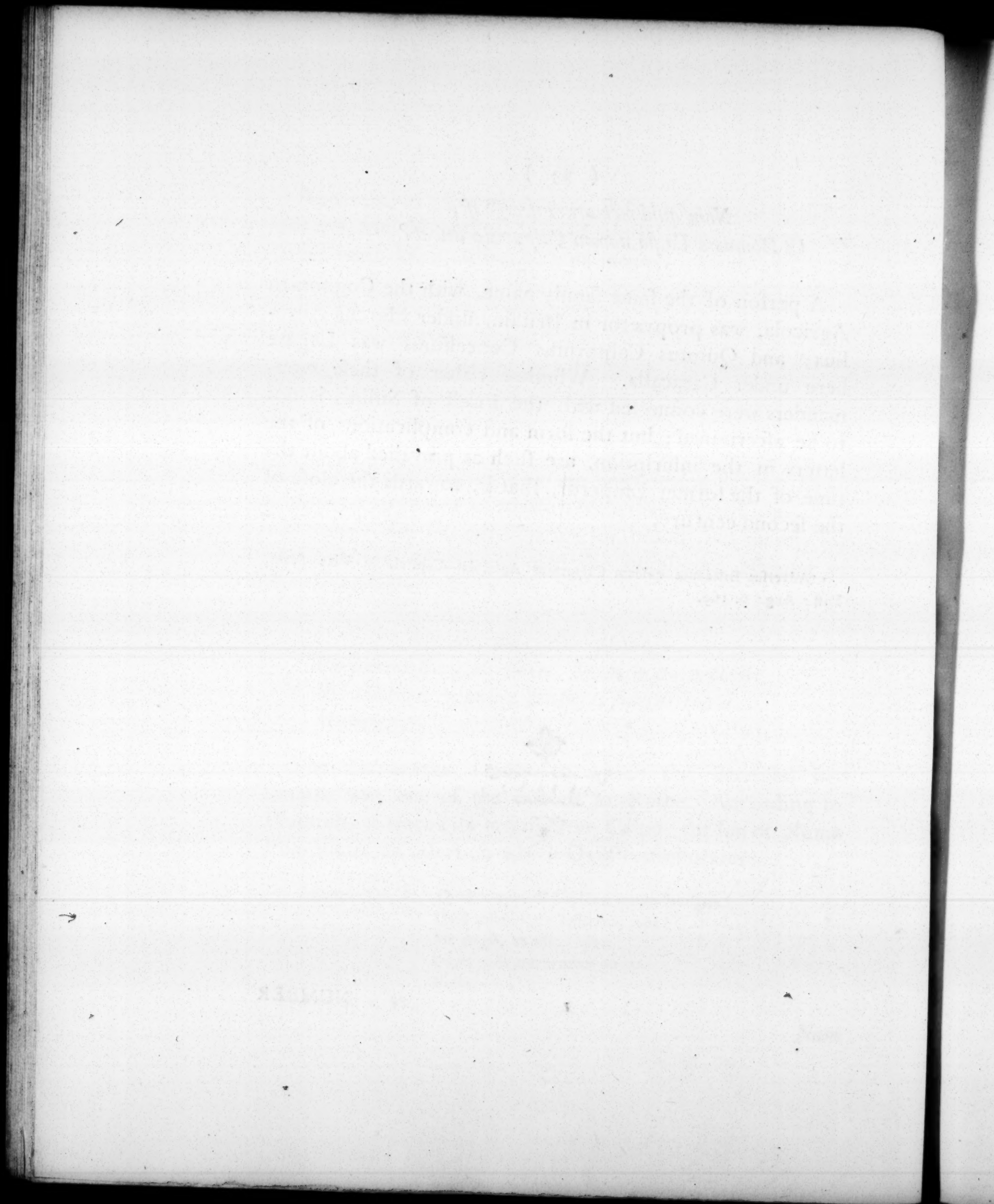
Nam

*Nam quid memorare necesse est,
Ut Domus a Calpo nomen Calpurnia ducat?*

A person of the same family name, with the Cognomen Agricola, was proprætor in Britain, under Marcus Aurelius;¹ and Quintus Calpurnius Concessinus was Legate here under Caracalla. Whether either of these commanders were connected with the Priest of Sulinis is not to be ascertained; but the form and complications of the letters in the inscription, are such as prevailed about the time of the former Emperor, that is, towards the close of the second century.

¹ Adversus Britannos quidem Calpurnius Agricola—Capitol, in Vit: Scrip: Hist: Aug: p. 169.









Do. V.

NUMBER V.

DE Æ SULINI PRO SALUTE ET INCOLUMITATE AUFIDII
MAXIMI LEGIONIS VI^æ VICTRICIS MILITIS AUFIDII
DIUS EJUS LIBERTUS (*pro libertus*) VOTUM SOLVIT
LIBENS MERITO.

THIS votive altar exhibits another example of the gratitude and piety of the Romans. It was erected by a manumitted slave, in performance of a vow made to the Goddess Sulinis, for the restoration of his master, who had made him free.

Luxury, of every sort, was carried to a proverbial height by this august nation. But in no article were the Romans more extravagantly profuse, than in the use of slaves; and in the multitudes which every citizen of property affected to entertain.—The numerous and various offices in their town residences, and country villas; in their
gardens,

gardens, farms, and fields, were filled by these unfortunate beings; over whom the lordly master domineered with the most uncontrouled and discretionary sway.¹ To such a pitch, indeed, did this vain and cruel custom arive, that instances are not wanting of a noble Roman possessing a body of ten, and even twenty thousand domestic slaves.² Nor was it at home alone that they manifested this folly; whole troops of these wretched men followed them wherever they went; whether to the courts of justice, or the senate-house; the theatre, the temple, or the bath; *ubi, comitantibus singulos quinquaginta ministris tholos introierent balnearum.*³—*Familiarium agmina, tanquam predatorios globos, post terga trahentes; ne Sannione quidem, ut ait Comicus, domi relicto;*⁴ and Horace records Tigellinus as parading the streets of Rome with a retinue of two hundred servi at his heels.⁵

¹ The numbers of slaves employed by the Romans in their kitchens, and about their persons, must astonish even the most extravagant of our present beaux and epicures.—“*Quam celebres culinæ sunt? Quanta nepotum focus juvenus premit. Transeo puerorum infelicium greges, quos, post transacta convivia, alii cubiculi contumeliæ expectant. Transeo agmina exoletorum, per nationes coloresque descripta ut eadem omnibus levitas sit, eadem primæ mensura lanuginis eadem species capillorum, ne quis, cui rectior est coma, crispulis misceatur. Transeo pistorum turbam, transeo ministratorum per quos, signo dato, ad inferendam cœnam discurritur. Dii boni!*” (Subjoins the philosopher) “*quantum hominum unius Venter exercet.*” Seneca’s Epist.:

² Μυριες, και δις μυριες, (οικιστας) και επι πλεως δε παμπαλλοι κεκτυνται. εκ επι προσοδοις δε, ωσπις ο των Ελληνων ζωωντες Νικιας; αλλ’ α πλεως των Ρωμαιων συνεπροιοντας ιχουσι τε, πλειους—Athenæus Dæip: Lib: vi.

³ Ammianus, Lib. xxviii.

⁴ Id: Lib. xiv.

⁵ Hor: Sat: Lib: i. 3.

With

With the more humane and reflecting Romans, however, it was not unusual to emancipate their slaves from this cruel state of bondage, in the cases of faithful service, and meritorious conduct—This was done by various modes; any one of which converted the *Servus* into a *Libertus*, and though it did not confer on him all the rights and privileges of Roman citizenship, liberated him notwithstanding, forever, from the tyranny of a passionate, or the caprice of a whimsical lord.—The only compliment due on this occasion from the manumitted slave to his quondam master, was to adopt his name; a circumstance which, we perceive by our inscription, had not been omitted by the freed man of Aufidius Maximus.

The Sixth legion, mentioned on this altar, was transported into Britain, in the time of Hadrian; and probably accompanied that Emperor, when he took this kingdom in the tour of his dominions.¹ Its first station was somewhere in the North of England, in the neighbourhood of the Vallum, the West end of which it appears to have erected.—Towards the middle of the reign of Antoninus Pius, it moved rather more to the South, and became stationary at York.—Here it continued till the beginning of the fifth century; when it returned to Italy, to assist in supporting the sinking fabric of the empire.²

¹ This we have reason to conclude, from the following inscription on an altar, given by Gale.—“Imperatoris Divi Hadriani ab actis tribuno militum legionis sextæ victricis cum qua ex Germaniâ in Britanniam transiit.” Galei Antonin: p. 47.

² Horsley's Brit: Rom: 79, 80.

There

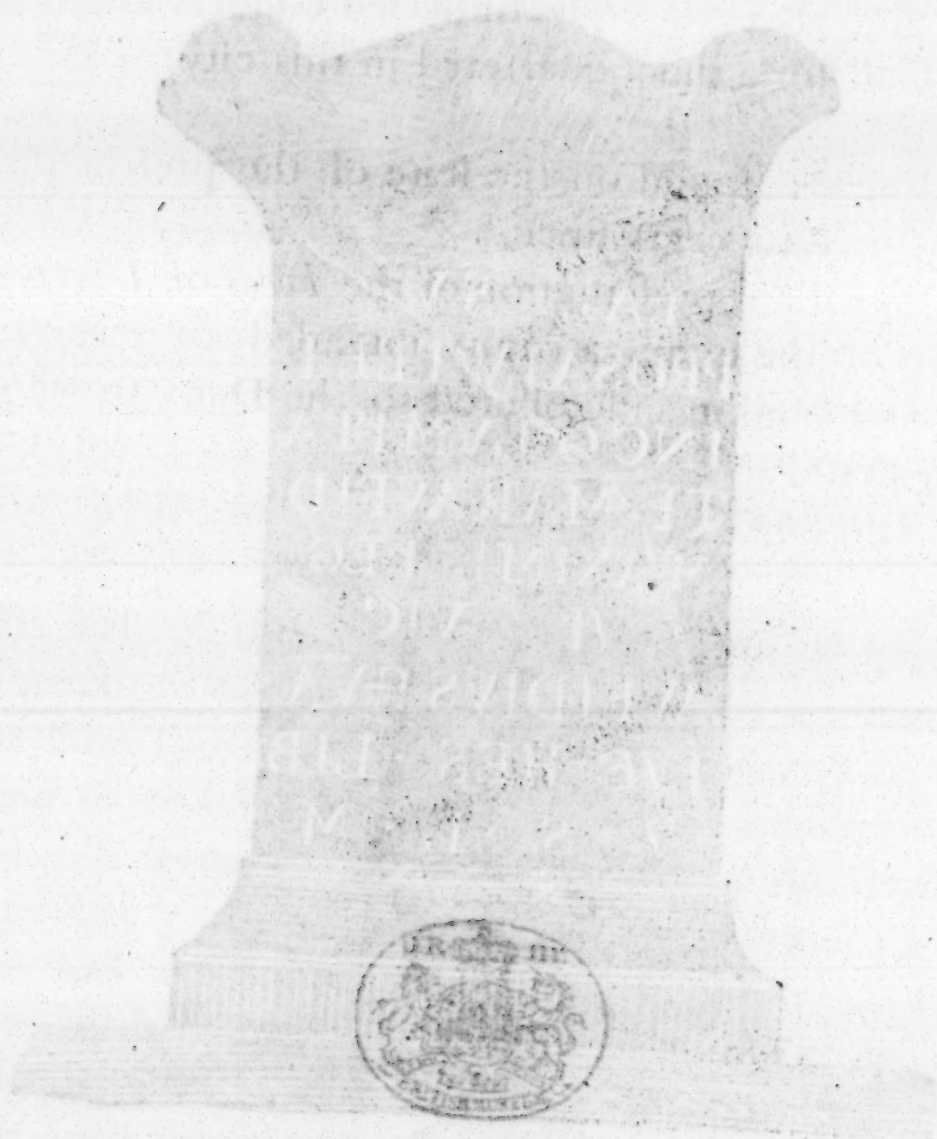
There is no room to suppose the Legion itself was ever at Bath; but from two inscriptions having been found there, in which mention of it occurs, a reasonable conjecture arises, that one of its dispersed cohorts might have been, at least for a time, quartered in this city.

This altar was found on the scite of the present Pump-room, about four years since.

I have added a representation of the *Focus* or *Thuribulum* on the top of the altar; a cavity intended to receive the libations and frankincense offered to the Deity to whom it was dedicated.



2





Re. VI.

NUMBER VI.

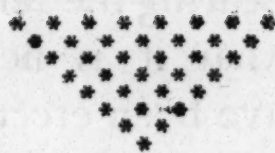
DEÆ SULINI PRO SALUTE ET INCOLUMITATE MARCI
AUFIDII MAXIMI LEGIONIS VI^{TA} VICTRICIS AUFIDII
DIUS EJUS ADOPTATUS HERES LIBERTUS VOTUM
SOLVIT LIBENS MÉRITO.

THE style of this inscription; the form of the letters; the dimensions of the altar; together with its being found on the same spot, and bearing the same names with the last; lead me to conclude, that it is nearly contemporaneous with it.—It seems to have been erected by the same Libertus, probably a short time after the former, when his patron had conferred the additional favor of adopting him for his heir and successor.—This was not an unusual practice with the Romans, for as the law gave them the most unrestrained disposition of their own property,¹ the limi-

¹ It was a law of the twelve tables. “ Uti quisque legasset suæ rei, ita jus esto.”—on which words Pomponius observes; “ Verbis Legis duodecim tabularum his uti quisque legasset suæ rei, ita jus esto: latissima potestas tributa videtur, et hæredis instituendi, et legata et libertates dandi, tutelas quoque constituendi. Unde liquet eam ad manumissiones etiam pertinere, ut quotquot e suis quisque servis liberos relinquere vellet, posset.”—De verb: Signif: in Verb: Legatis.

tation

tation of it to a favorite slave, who had rendered himself useful to his master; who had flattered his passions, or humoured his weaknesses, would be natural, and consequently frequent — More particularly, when the testator had neither consort nor offspring to inherit after him; which was generally the case with the Roman foldier; who seldom entered the married state till he had compleated his term of military service.







No. VII.

NUMBER VII.

PEREGRINUS SECUNDI FILIUS CIVIS TREVERIS JOVI
CETIO MARTI ET NEMETONA VOTUM SOLVIT LI-
BENS MERITO.

THIS votive altar was discovered several feet under ground, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, in the upper part of Stall-street. It is dedicated to three deities, the Cetian Jupiter, Mars, and Nemetona.

The name of the person who erected it does not appear, for the word *Peregrinus* is merely an appellative; implying that he was a stranger or traveller.¹—We find, however, by the second and third lines, the name of his father, Secundus; and the city of his residence, Treves in Germany.

Though it be sufficiently evident from the writings of the more enlightened and philosophic Romans, that they were Deists, and held the wild and absurd notions of Polytheism in secret contempt, yet the belief of a multiplicity

¹ Amongst the Romans it was extremely common for persons to receive names from certain circumstances of their birth or fortune; such as *Vopiscus*, an appellation given to the survivor of two twins, when one died in parturition; *Cæsar*, *Agrippa*, and others.

of deities tainted the popular mind, and pervaded all the middle and lower orders of the empire.¹ Error being once admitted, increased in a rapid degree; and bewildered reason not satisfied with erecting every element, passion, and even abstracted idea, into a divinity; taught at length, that there were a variety of Gods of the same name, differing, however, in their acts and characters.

This was the case more particularly with the greater deities; and there was scarcely a town, of any consequence, throughout the Roman empire, which had not its peculiar Jove, Minerva, or Mars. These differed not only in their characters, but in their representations also;² and so materially, that the Jove of Terracina, or Jupiter Anxur, was sculptured with the beautiful and beardless face of the son of Maia, or the brother of Latona, instead of the awful countenance, of the father of Gods and men.³

It was to a local Jupiter of this kind, the peculiar God of the municipal town, Cetium,⁴ in Germany, (together with Mars and Nemetona) that this altar was dedicated.

¹ Omnes gentes una lex, et sempiterna, et immortalis, continebit; unusque erit, quasi magister, et imperator omnium, Deus. Cicero : Frag : Lib : 3. De Repub.

² Mont faucon, Tom. 1. Plate 12. Fig. 9.

³ Bis sex cælestes, medio Jove, sedibus altis
Augustâ gravitate sedent. Sua quemque deorum
Inscribit facies: Jovis est regalis Imago.

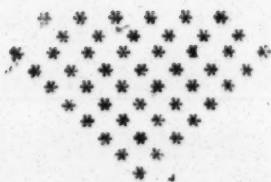
Ov : Met : l. 6. v. 74.

⁴ Norici oppid Anton: Baudrando Pagus Austriæ inferioris ad Danubium, ubi recipit Anzespach Amnem. Hoffmanni Lex: Tom: i. p.1. Municipii dignitatem, non coloniæ literati lapides urbi contribeunt.—Fuit Municipium ad Montem Kalenberg. Anton: Itin: apud Wesselin: p. 234. Now called Kotwig: Simp: in Id.

The last of these deities seems to have been a British one, and known only in the South-Western parts of England.—The name Nemetotacio (which Baxter considers as synonymous with Nemetomagus) seems in the chorography of Anonymous Ravennas,¹ and is conjectured, by Baxter, to be the present Launceston.²—If this be allowed, the near approach of Nemetona to the town Nemetomagus, will justify the opinion of the former being the local divinity of the latter.

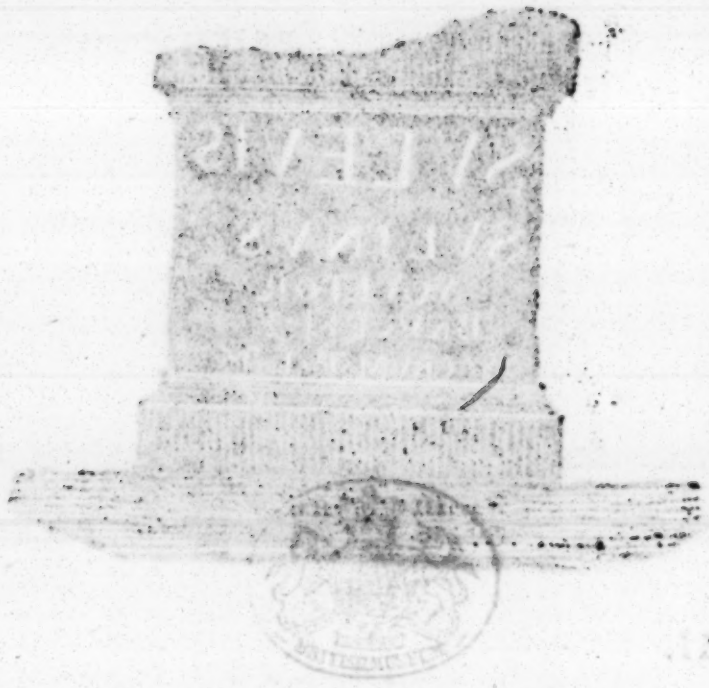
¹ Horsley, p. 490.

² Bax : Gloss : Antiq : p. 172. 182.



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5





No. VIII.

N U M B E R VIII.

SULEVIS SULINUS SCULTOR (*pro sculptor*) BRUCETI
FILIUS SACRUM FECIT LIBENS MERITO.

THIS altar was found at the same time and place with the one last described. It is dedicated to the *Sulivæ*, the *Deæ campestræ*; or local rural deities of the country around Bath;

*Sunt rustica numina Nymphæ
Fauniquæ, Satyriquæ, et Monticolæ Sylvani.*¹

A con-

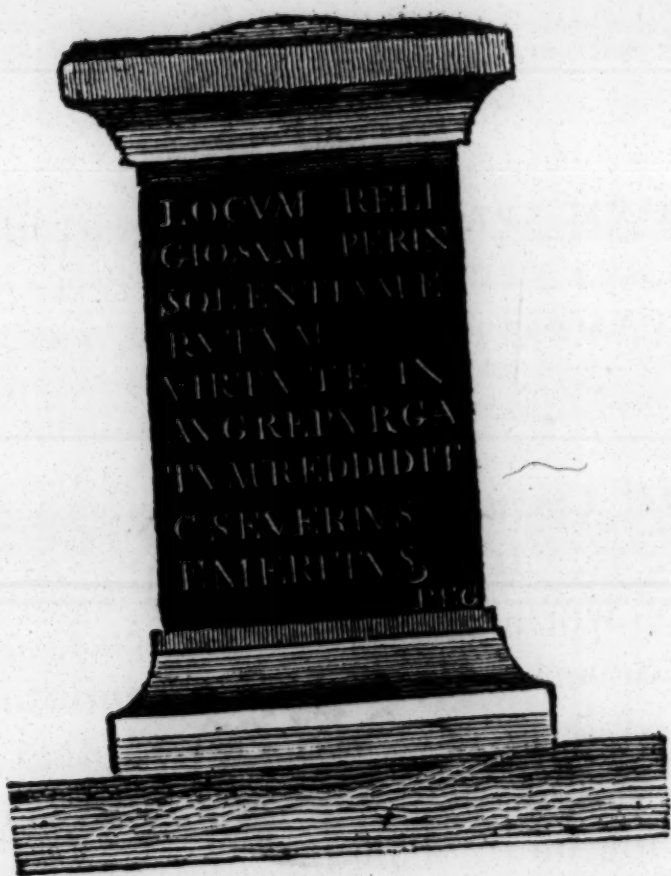
¹ Ovid: Met: Lib: i. v. 192. These were inferior intelligences to the *Dii rustici*, who more immediately presided over *Agriculture*, and assisted the labours of the husbandman. Varro invokes, and enumerates these deities in the beginning of his work *Re rustica*. "Quoniam, ut ajunt, Dei facientes adjuvant, prius invocabo eos; nec ut Homerus, et Ennius *Musas*: sed xii. *Deos consentes*. Neque tamen *Urbanos*, quorum imagines ad forum auratæ stant, sex mares et totidem fæminæ, sed illos xii. Deos, qui maxime agricolarum duces sunt. Primum, qui omnes fructus agriculturæ cœlo et terra continent, *Jovem* et *Tellurem*; itaque duo hi parentes magni

A conjecture that is considerably strengthened by the magnitude and depth of its Focus, which is well calculated to receive the abundant offering of herbs, fruits, and flowers, with which these fancied intelligences were supposed to be pleased,

The awkward form, and bad sculpture of this altar, place its execution at a time when the arts were sadly degenerated here; probably not long before the Romans quitted Britain.

magni dicuntur: *Jupiter* pater appellatur: *Tellus* terra mater. Secundo *Solem* et *Lunam*, quorum tempora observantur, cum quædam feruntur et conduntur. Tertio *Cerere* et *Liberum*, quod horum fructus maxime necessarii ad victum. Ab his enim cibus et potio venit è fundo. Quarto, *Robigum* ac *Floram*, quibus propitiis, neque *rubigo* frumenta, neque arbores corrumpit, neque non tempestive florent. Itaque publicè *Robigo* feriæ, *Robigalia*, *Floræ* ludi *Floralia* instituti. Item advenero *Minervam* et *Venerem*, quarum unius procuratio *Oliveti*, alterius hortorum: quo nomine rustica *Vinalia* instituta. Nec non etiam precor *Lympham* et *Bonum Eventum*; quoniam sine aquâ omnis arida ac misera *agricultura*; sine *successu* ac bono eventu; frustratio est, non cultura."





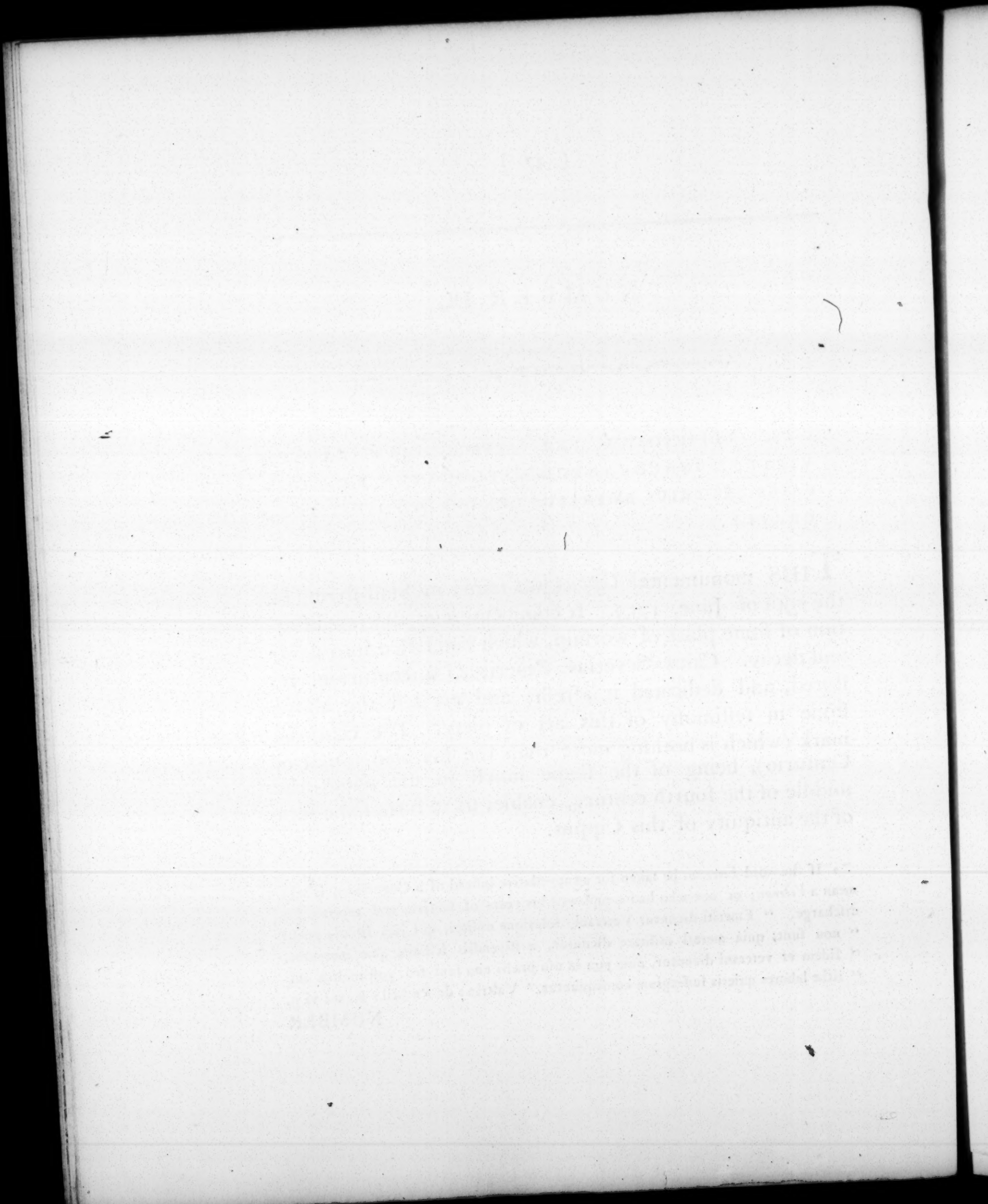
No. IX.

NUMBER IX,

LOCUM RELIGIOSUM PER INSOLENTIAM ERUTUM
VIRTUTE INAUGURATUM REPURGATUM REDDIDIT
CAIUS SEVERIUS EMERITUS CENTURIO POSUIT ERGO
GRATIÆ,

THIS monumental *Cippus* was found in Stall-street, on the 29th of June, 1753. It commemorates the re-edification of some place of worship, which had fallen into disuse and decay. Caius Severius Emeritus,¹ a centurion, restored, and dedicated it afresh; and erected the above stone in testimony of this act of piety. The centurial mark (which is nothing more than the inverted initial of Centurio), being of the shape much in use about the middle of the fourth century, enables us to form some idea of the antiquity of this Cippus.

¹ If the word *Emeritus* be taken for an appellative instead of a Cognomen, it will mean a *Veteran*; or one who had compleated his years of service, and received his discharge. “*Emeriti dicuntur Veterani, solutique milites, qui jam in usu prælii non sunt, quia mereri militare dicuntur, a stipendiis scilicet, quæ merentur. Iidem et veterani dicuntur, quia jam in usu prælii non sunt sed, post multos militiæ labores quietis suffragium consequuntur.*” Valtrin : de Re Mil : Rom : vi 5.







No. X.



A



B

 NUMBER X.

WHAT the original use or design of this stone might have been, it is now difficult to say. It appears to be part of a sculpture exhibiting a military commander in pretty bold relief. From the rudely-chissel'd dolphin on the left hand corner, it should seem that a *naval officer* was intended to be represented; since that fish was considered sacred to Neptune,¹ and held to be an emblem of extensive maritime power;²

Ουδε μάλιν παλαμαῖς χατεχα Δελφίνα καὶ ἀνθ³ :
 Τη μὲν γὰρ γαῖαν, τη δὲ θάλατταν εχα.³

In matters, which, (from particular circumstances), will not admit of demonstration, it may be allowable to advance

¹ " Qui Neptuno simulacrum faciunt, Delphinum aut in manu ejus, aut sub pede " constituere videntur; quod gratissimum Neptuno esse arbitrantur."—Hyginus in Delphino.

² Vet: Græc: Epig: in Anthol: on a Cupid holding a flower in one hand and a dolphin in the other.

rational conjecture in the room of proof.—Presuming upon this privilege, I would venture to offer an opinion that the stone under consideration, might have been erected to the honor of Carausius, a bold usurper in the reign of Dioclesian, who, by his consummate gallantry, and extraordinary naval skill, obtained the compleat dominion of Britain and held it for seven years. The following account of him is given by Eutropius. “Carausius, though
 “very meanly born, obtained a considerable post in
 “the army, and acquired a great reputation, whilst he
 “enjoyed it. He at Bononia, received a commission to
 “keep all quiet at sea upon the Belgic and Armorican
 “coast, infested by the Franks and Saxons; and having
 “taken many of the barbarians, without either returning
 “the whole booty to the provincials, or remitting the
 “same to the Emperors; a suspicion arose, that he de-
 “signedly suffered the Barbarians to make inroads that he
 “might catch them as they were going off with their booty,
 “and by these means enrich himself. Orders were given
 “to Maximian to kill him; upon which he assumed the
 “purple, and seized on Britain; and when force had been
 “used in vain, they were glad at last to strike up a peace
 “with him. Seven years afterwards, he was killed by
 “Alectus his companion, who himself kept possession of
 “Britain for three years after the death of Carausius, and
 “then was suppressed by the management of Asclepio-
 “dotus, the Captain of the guards.”¹

¹ Horsley's Brit: Rom: p. 69.

Sculptural representations of their great men, were, we know, very customary modes of flattery amongst the Romans, particularly under the lower empire, when altars, statues, and temples were raised, and divinity attached to the possession of the purple, however vicious or contemptible the wearer might be. Many such compliments would doubtless be paid to the successful usurper *Carausius*, and as the style of sculpture observable in the stone before us, marks it to have been chisselled when the arts were on the decline, this, (together with other circumstances) seems to justify the opinion of its having been, originally, a representation of him.

The dress of the figure, also, is that of a military commander; a loose cloak, called a *Chlamys*, which covered the closer vest, or *Tunica*, and was fastened on the right shoulder with a *Fibula*, or clasp. The *Dolphin*, moreover, points at the same profession; being a symbol of activity and dispatch, and therefore a very proper accompaniment to a sculpture of this kind. The coins of Vespasian, (who affected the motto of Augustus, *σπευδε βραδεως*) very frequently exhibit on their reverses, the *Dolphin* entwined with an anchor; to denote expedition and alacrity, coupled, at the same time, with prudence and moderation.

It is to be remarked further, that the cropped hair, and short curling beard, observable in this relief, bespeak a soldier of the lower empire; when it became fashionable

wear the last appendage to the face.¹ The history of *beards* indeed, amongst the Romans is somewhat singular, and well exemplifies the caprice and mutable nature of fashion. In the early ages of the commonwealth, whilst the Roman character continued to be a serious one, the *beard* was carefully cherished, and regarded with veneration;² nor were barbers heard of in the capital of the world, till four hundred and fifty years after its foundation, when they were first introduced there by *Ticinius Mæna* from Sicily.³ What ceases to be fashionable, however, soon

¹ It was a custom with the Romans to crop the hair short in the neck, when they assumed the *Toga virilis*, at the age of seventeen; and to keep it ever after in the same state—This was done with great solemnity, and the shorn locks were generally offered to some deity or other—Frequently to Bacchus;

Ille genas Phæbo, crinem hic pascebat Jaccho.

Statius Theb: 8. 492.

Sometimes to Apollo:

Accipe laudatos juvenis Phæbeie crines
Quos tibi Cæsareus donat puer, accipe lætus,
Intonsoque ostende patri.

Stat: lib: 3. Sil: 4.

At other times to Jove;

Jupiter hunc crinem, voti reus, ante dicarem.
Si pariter nati virides libare dedisses
Ad tua templa genas——

² Livy Lib: v.—41.—

Lucan also describes *Cato*, as rigidly observing the fashion of the beard;

Intonsos rigidam in frontem descendere canos

Passus erat, mæstamque genis in crescere barbam. Lib. 2.

³ Pliny, Lib: vii. c. 59. Omnino tonsores in Italiam ex Sicilia primum venisse dicuntur, post Romam conditam Anno Quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quarto, ut scriptum in publico Ardea in literis extat, eosque adduxisse P. Ticinium Menam. M: Varro de Re Rust: Lib: 2. Cap; ult.

begins

begins to be considered as absurd. The refined Romans adopting the oriental custom of shaving the chin, quickly lost all respect for their ancient custom, and laughed heartily at the simplicity of their ancestors, in following one that was now termed barbarous and ridiculous ;

*Credam dignum Barbâ, dignumq Capillis
Majorum.*¹

The Beard became a subject of scorn wherever it appeared ; and the poor philosopher's chin suffered many a practical joke from the mischievous urchins of the Augustan age :

*Vellent tibi Barbam
Lascivi pueri.*²

Inconstant fashion, however, rendered the beard once more respectable, and Hadrian, in the beginning of the second century, again gave it popularity, by encouraging the growth of his own.³ Succeeding Emperors followed his example ; and the custom kept its ground, till the termination of the empire.⁴

The

¹ Juv : Sat : 16. 32.

² Hor : Sat : Lib : 1. Sat : 3. v. 134.

³ Ἀδριανὸν πρῶτον γέναν καλεῖσθαι. Xiphilin : in vit : T^aijani :

⁴ The History of Beards in our own country, would well display the instability of fashion, if the subject were worth pursuing ; it may be remarked, however, by the bye, that Henry the 1st. was the first who introduced shaving into England, as we are

The two fragments A. and B. are probably ornaments of a portal.—The former seems to have a particular reference to Bath.—I take it to be part of the figure of a Genius, holding a *Strigil* in his right hand; an instrument of brass, iron, or silver, with which the attendants at the Baths, cleansed the bodies of the bathers.¹—The latter fragment belonged to the representation of another Genius, who patronized rural employments; and delighted in the fruits of the earth, and the flowers of the field;

*Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,
Floribus et vino Genium, memorem brevis ævi.*²

These subordinate intelligences make a considerable figure in classical mythology, and consequently deserve a moment's attention.—Various were the opinions of the ancients respecting them. Plutarch considers them as intermediate beings between the Gods and men.³ Varro, as the mental or intellectual part of man.⁴ Others as the tutelary Deities of states, cities, and individuals.⁵ Some fancied these imaginary

are informed.—“Henricus comam in hac insula princeps barbarumque totondit, ejusque exemplo ducti Angli qui a summa memoria capillo promisso fuerant, omnes confestim tondebantur.” Theod: Clainus Histor: Britan: Lib: 3.

¹ Sanadon's Note in Hor: Sat: Lib: 2. 7. v. 109.

² Hor: Epist: 11, Ep: 1. v. 143.

³ Το των δαιμονων γένος εν μεσω θεων κ' ανθρωπων: de Orac.

⁴ “Genium esse uniuscujusque animum rationalem et ideo esse singulos singulorum.” Varro apud Aurel: Augustin.

⁵ “Genium Dicebant antiqui naturalem Deum, uniuscujusque loci, vel rei, aut hominis.” Servius in 1mo. Georgic. Virgilii. “Suus cuique mos, suus cuique ritus

ginary beings were two in number, which took charge of every person from the moment of his nativity, one of whom continually impelled him to good, the other to evil.¹ That they were constantly employed in this beneficial or pernicious work, and never quitted him for a moment of time, from his birth to his decease.² Having this powerful influence over human actions, and temporal affairs, the *Genii* were held in profound veneration, and divine honors paid to them, both by states and individuals. Various offerings were esteemed to be agreeable to them. A pig of two months old;

*Cras Genium mero
Curabis et porco bimestri.*³

A salted cake;

*Tu cespite vivo
Pone focum, Geniumque loci Faunumque Larumque
Salso farre voca.*⁴

ritus est, varios custodes urbibus cunctis mens divina distribuit, ut animæ nascentibus, ita populis fatales Genii dividuntur." Q: Symnachus in Relatione sua ad A. A. A. pro restaurando Deorum gentilium Cultu.

¹ Cum nascimur duos Genios fortimur, unus est, qui hortatur ad Bona; alter qui depravat ad mala, nec incongrue dicuntur *Genii*, quia cum unusquisque genitus fuerit ei statim observatores deputantur; quibus assistentibus post mortem aut asserimur in meliorem vitam aut condemnatur in deteriore." Servius in hoc Virgilii." " Quisque suos patimur manes."

² Genius autem ita nobis assiduus observator appositus est, ut ne puncto quidem temporis longius abscedat, sed ab utero matris exceptos ad extremum vitæ diem comitetur. Censorin: de die Natal: c. 3.

Ἀπαντὶ δαίμωνι ἀνδρὶ τῷ γενομένῳ. Menander.

Omni homini nascenti Genius.

³ Hor: Od: Lib: 3. 17.

⁴ Calphurn: Sic: Ec: 5.

An

An oblation of Frankincense ;

Magne Geni, cape thura libens, votisque faveto ;

*Si modo cum de me cogitat ille cadet.*¹

Fruits and wine ; or wine alone ;

*Funde merum Genio.*²

These offerings were generally made on the natal day of the pious votary, in a private manner, in his own mansion. But to the *Genius* of every particular state or city, a temple was raised at the public expence, and divine rites publicly observed on particular days set apart for that purpose,³

¹ Tibullus, Lib : 4. de Natali Cerinthis,

² A : Persius in princip : Sat : 6.

³ In Rome, in the 14th Region of the city, was a chapel dedicated *ad Genios liberorum* ; another, *ad Genios Larium*, in the 6th Region ; and a third, in the 7th. *ad Genium Sangi*.—Rosinus Antiquitat : Rom : Lib : 2. c. xiv. Ammianus Marcellinus mentions a temple to the same intelligence in Alexandria. Lib : 22.



12 54



No. XI.

NUMBER XI,

IT is somewhat singular, that a very intelligent and respectable antiquary of the present day, should have mistaken the monument before us, for the production of the Saxon or Gothic age; when its form, subject, and every other circumstance, manifest it to be intimately connected with classical mythology:—The sculpture, indeed, is not remarkable for elegance, having been executed, (as I shall presently shew) towards the beginning of the fourth century, when the arts were very much on the decline; but, perhaps, we can scarcely judge now, fairly, of its original execution, since it is worked on Bath stone, the friable nature of which, prevents the long preservation of the finer and minuter parts of any piece of sculpture.

Amongst the ancients it was an usual practice to dedicate the *same temple* to several deities.—Thus Hercules and the Muses were joined in one at Rome; as well as Castor and

¹ Governor Pownal's "Descriptions and Explanations of some Remains of Roman Antiquities dug up in the City of Bath;" p: 26.

Pollux; Pan and Ceres; Apollo and Æsculapius.—Those also, who in their attributes bore any resemblance to each other, were often associated together upon *the same altar*. When this occurred, the divinities were called Συμβωμιοι and ὁμοβωμιοι, and the altars themselves Διβωμιοι, or double altars.—Of this sort was the one before us, which appears to have been dedicated to *Jupiter* and *Hercules bibax*, or the convivial Hercules.¹ The following explanation of the two figures will probably be considered as sufficient proofs of the truth of this opinion.

The left-hand relief represents *Jupiter* with those various emblems which distinguish him from the other deities of ancient mythology.

¹ In the frequent Lectisterniums which the Romans made to Hercules, they used even to invoke him under his *drunken character*, as one finds by *Statius*; and a particular friend of that poet had a very remarkable little figure of this God, which he used to place upon his table, whenever any gaieties were carrying on there. He held a cyathus in one hand, and his club in the other, with a mild good-humoured look, that seemed to invite others to be as happy and well pleased as himself.—*Spence's Polymetis*, p. 126.

Nec torva effigies, epulisque aliena remissis;
Sed qualem parci domus admirata Molochi,
Aut Aleæ lucis vidit Tegeæa sacerdos:
Qualis et Oetæis emissus in Astra favillis
Nectar adhuc torvâ lætus Junone bibebat.
Sic mitis vultus; veluti de pectore gaudens
Hortetur mensas. Tenet hæc marcentia fratris
Pocula; adhuc sævæ meminit manus altera pugnæ;
Sustinet occultum Nemeæo tegmine Saxum.

Statius Sylv: 6. v. 58.

The

The God grasps in his right-hand, the *fulmen*, lightning, or three-forked bolt, according to the descriptions of the poet ;

*Cui dextra trifulcis
Ignibus armata est.*¹

With his left he holds his sceptre, as the King or father of all beings, whether human or divine ;

*Celsior ipse loco, sceptroque innixus eburno.*²

At his feet may be seen the “ feathered king,” or eagle ; which from its superiority to other birds, was considered as the peculiar attendant on Jove, and the bearer of his lightning ;

*Magni Jovis ales fertur in altum
Assueto volitans, gestes ceu fulmina Mundi.*³

The head and countenance are much mutilated, but sufficient of the former remains to testify that it was originally modelled, in the circumstances of the hair, beard, &c, after the sublime description given by Homer, of the father of Gods and men ;

Η, και κυανέσιν επ' οφρυσιν νευσε Κρονίων ;
Αμβροσίαι δ' αρα χαιται επερρωσαντο ανακλήῳ,
Κραῖος απ' αθανατοιο· μέγαν δ' ελελιξεν Ολυμπόν.⁴

¹ Ov : Met : L. 2, v. 325. ² Id : Lib : 1. v. 178. ³ Manilius, Lib : I. v. 345.

⁴ Hom : II : L : 1. v. 521.

His only covering is a regal *Pallium*. thrown over the left shoulder, and hanging loosely around the body.—The figure which occupies the other face of this bifronted altar, is the representation of *Hercules Bibax*, or the convivial Hercules.

The usual attributes of this deity were his lion's skin, club, and bow;

Οὐκ Ηρακλῆς ὅτις ἐστίν; ἑρμηνεύει ἀλλ᾽, ματὸν Ηρακλέα
τὸ τοξόν, τὸ ροπαλόν, ἡ λεοντή, τὸ μέγεθος.¹

The two former of which are sufficiently visible in the relief.

But when he was represented under his drunken character, instead of the latter implement of war, he bore in his right hand a *cyathus*, or goblet—

—*Tenet hæc marcentia fratris*
Pocula,²

This emblem was given him, in allusion both to his intemperate propensities, and also to a wild mythological fable, which feigned that he traversed the ocean in a *Scyphus* or drinking vessel; a story that had its rise, accord-

¹ Lucian, tom: 1. p. 298.

² Statius ut supra.

ing to Macrobius, from a voyage performed by this adventurous hero, not in a goblet, but in a small ship, that bore the name of *Scyphus*.¹

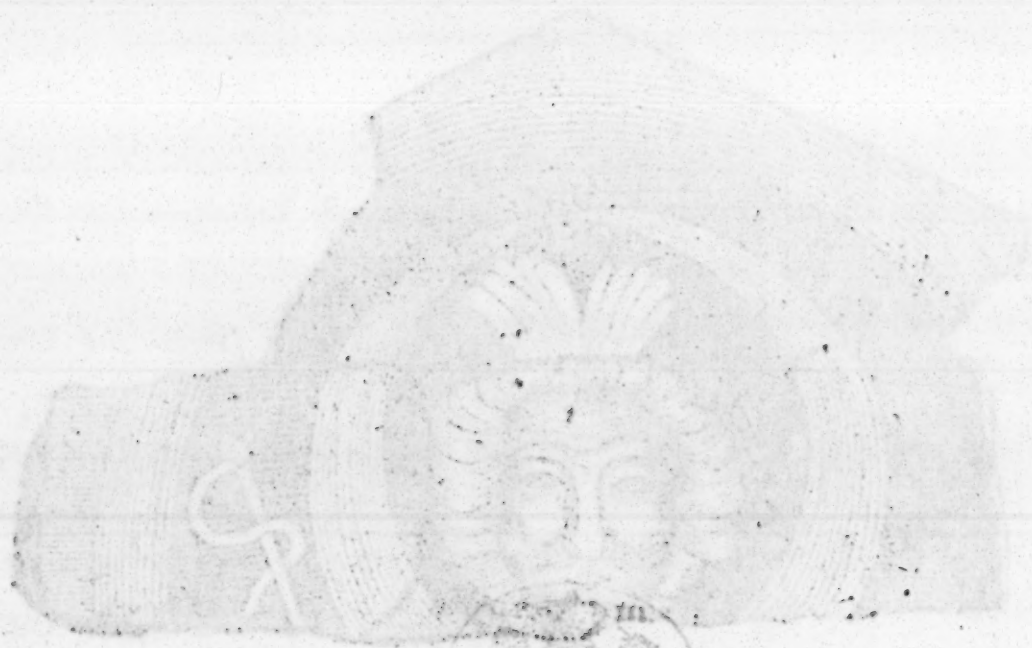
The association of *Jove* and *Hercules* on the same altar, was not unusual; instances of it occur in Gruter and Montfaucon. The practice, however, flourished more particularly during the joint reign of Dioclesian and Maximian; the former of whom affected the name and character of Jove, the latter those of Hercules.² This circumstance may be considered as an index to the date of our altar, which was probably raised to the honor of these Emperors; and places it consequently, somewhere between the years of our Lord 284, and 304, a period which comprehends the term of their dominion over the Roman empire.³

This altar seems to have filled the corner of some temple; two of its sides being rough and unwrought.—Its focus was evidently intended to receive libations and offerings.

¹ Macrobius: Saturn: L. 5. c. 21.

² Jupiter et Hercules nonnunquam occurrunt cum hoc titulo *Dii Magni*.—Hæc Jovi et Herculi simul oblata religio maximè vigeat ævo Diocletiani et Maximiani, quorum prior *Jovius*, secundus *Herculius* in honorem duorum horumce numinum vocitatus est.—Montfaucon, tom: 1. p. 47.

³ Eutropius. Lib: ix. c. 22.





No. XII.

NUMBER XII.

AT the time of discovering the two preceding pieces of sculpture, this curious fragment was also dug up. It seems to have been the pediment of a smaller temple, chapel, or *facellum*, dedicated probably to the Goddess *Luna*, under one of her various names and characters.—The head which appears in the centre, is executed in rude, but bold relief; and exhibits a broad Ethiopian countenance, with the hair dressed in very large curls; and tied at the top in a knot.—A crescent encircles it; and a knotted wand, with a serpent twisting round it, appears on the right side, without the crescent.

That this specimen of antique masonry originally made part of an edifice dedicated to the intelligence which was supposed to preside over the moon, will probably appear from the following remarks.

¹ Cicero enumerates some of her appellations, and gives the reasons for their being applied to her, Cic: de Nat: Deor: 2, n. 68;

The Greeks and Romans borrowing their mythological and philosophical notions from the Egyptians, adopted the tenet of the eternity of the sun and moon,¹ and considered these planets as the great parents of universal life, the authors and supporters of animated nature ;

αλλα γονηων

Παντων ζωντων, οἱς ἀμφιθαλὴς ἐστὶ Φύτλη.²

Numerous temples were erected to them individually, throughout the empire ; and at Rome, no less than three, with a small chapel, stood dedicated to the fair planet of the night.³ The most considerable of these was situate on the Aventine mount ;

Aventino Luna colenda jugo ;⁴

And here, under the name of *Noctiluca*, the moon received divine honors.

But the worship of this planet was not confined to the city of Rome alone. It found its way into all the colonies and provinces ; and as the influence and powers of the

¹ Ὑπολαβεῖν (Egyptii) εἶναι δύο θεοὺς αἰδῶς τὸν τε ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην. Diod. Sic: Αἰωνία σημαίνοντες ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην γραφῆσι, διὰ τὸ αἰωνία εἶναι φοιχῆα. Hor: Apol: in Iερογλυφ :

² Sibyllina Carmina, apud Zosim: Histor: L. 2.

³ Dempster's Antiq. Rom: p. 165.

⁴ Ov: Fast: L. 3. in fin.

moon were esteemed to be various and important, so her worship was cultivated with the most rigid care and attention.—Constant fires illuminated her temples during the night; and particular sacrifices marked the different stages of her appearance; her increase, her full, and wane. When her countenance was obscured with clouds, or hidden by an eclipse, various ceremonies were observed to court her re-appearance, or to relieve her from the effects of those witcheries, by which the wild wanderings of Heathen superstition esteemed her, in the latter case, to be oppressed.

*Candida nec magicas artes, inimicaque verba
Passa, nec a radiis terræ molimine fratris
Intercepta sui, bisse nas Delia noctes
Horruit, et fusca texit caligine vultum.
—Quantum pavidæ succurrere Lunæ
Certantes populi tinnitibus æris acuti
Ingeminant, surdasque Deæ nituntur ad aures
Thessalicum ne carmen eat, detractaque cælo
Suppositas lato terras simul obruat orbe;*¹

The influence of this planet, also, over the human frame was considered as very powerful, and in several diseases it was customary to invoke the moon for cure or relief.

¹ Pet : Apollon : Collatiu de Excidio Hierosolym. Lib: 1.

From this circumstance more especially, it seems probable, that a temple or *Sacellum* to the Goddess *Luna*, might be erected in the Roman colony of *Aquæ Solis*; since it was hither that the afflicted invalids, from all parts of the kingdom, resorted, to recruit their strength, and regain their health; and nothing is more likely, than that an intelligence efficacious in restoring bodily vigor, should be worshipped on a spot where her influence was more particularly known and experienced.— Indeed the emblem which surrounds the head, in this piece of sculpture, seems to prove beyond disputation, that the edifice to which it belonged, had a particular reference to the *Moon*. For in almost all the ancient sculptures, and on the reverses of most of the coins, which represent this intelligence under a corporeal form, the emblem of a lunar crown, or a crescent, accompanies her, and points out the

*Siderum Regina bicornis—*¹

“ The Queen of Stars who rules the night,

“ In horned Majesty of light.”²

The serpent twining itself round the stick with a knot on its top, is a very proper ornament, also, for a temple erected to a deity supposed to be influential in removing bodily complaints; since it is an emblem of *Æsculapius*, the God of healing and convalescence. In the pharma-

¹ Hor: Carm: Sæc: L: 35.

² Francis's Hor: v. 2. p. 304.

copeia of antiquity, the snake was in constant use, and a variety of good effects were attributed to it.¹—Hence it became sacred to Æsculapius, whose representation is generally accompanied by the figure of a serpent. The *knotted* stick adumbrates the difficulty attending the practice of physic;² and both together form an appropriate emblem of the personage who invented the art, and commanded the means of restoring health and vigor.³ It is by this accompaniment that the God, in the language of the poet, describes himself to be distinguished;

*Pone metus; veniam; simulacraque nostra relinquam,
Hunc modo serpentem, baculum qui nexibus ambit;
Perspice et usque nota.*⁴

And Apulcius mentions it as the circumstance by which his representation may be easiest known;

*Diceres Dei medici baculo, quod ramulis semiampulatis nodosum gerit, serpentem generosum lubricis amplexibus inhærere.*⁵

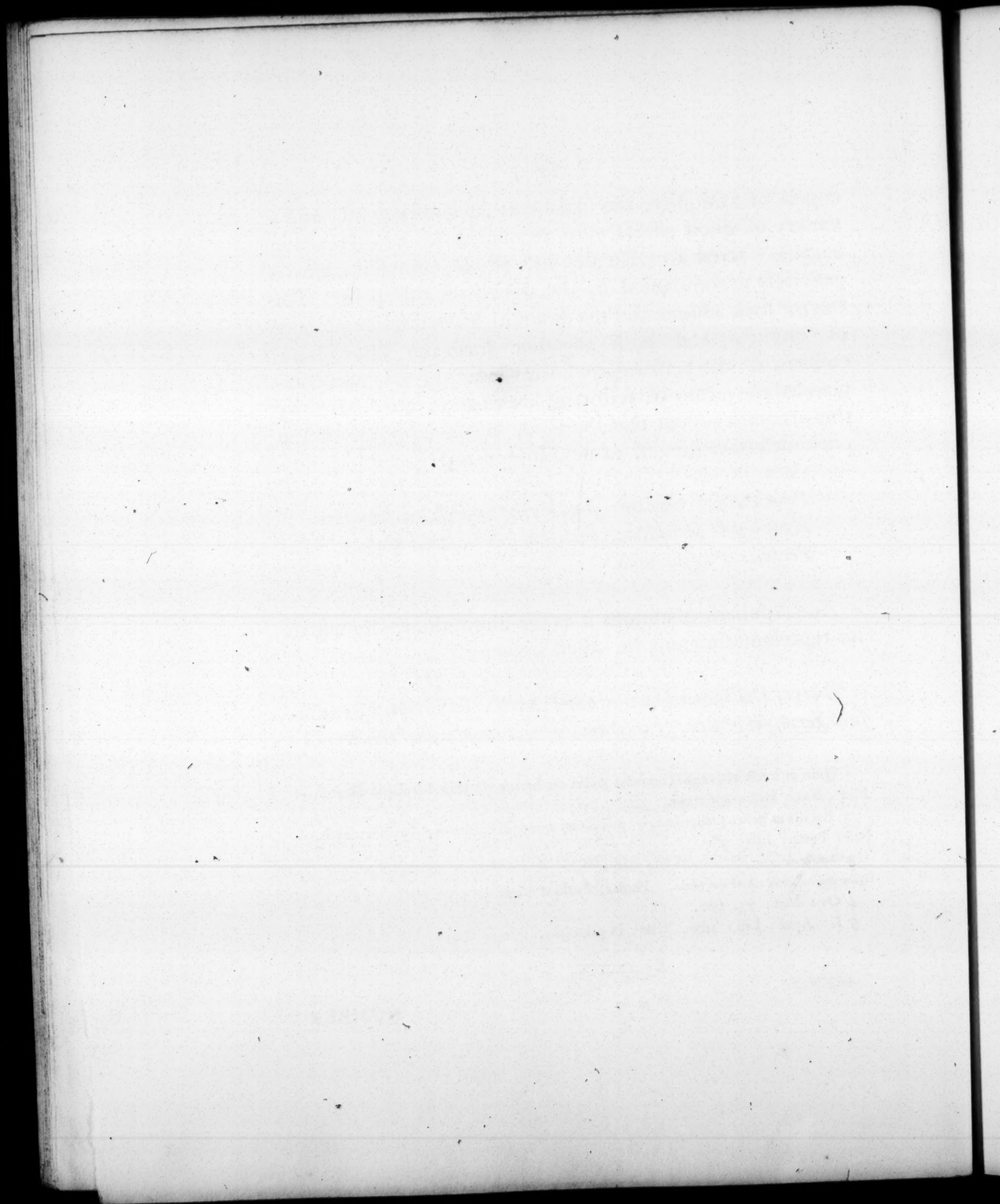
¹ Quin et inesse ei (angui) remedia multa creduntur, et ideo Esculapio dicatur.—
Plin : Nat : Hist : Lib : 29.

² Bacillum habet (Æsculapius) nodosum, quod difficultatem significat artis.—
Fest : Pomp : Lib : 9°.

³ Ασκληπιον
Ἡρώα παντοδαπὰν ἀλεκτηρὰ νοσῶν. Pindar, Pythior : ode 3.

⁴ Ov : Met : 15. 662.

⁵ L : Apul : Lib : 1mo. Mile; in principio.







N U M B E R XIII.

THIS fine bronze head was dug up in the month of July 1727, in Stall-street, where it lay buried sixteen feet under the surface of the ground. It is a beautiful fragment of a statue of Apollo, which stood, probably, in a temple dedicated to him, near the spot where the head was discovered.

That this Deity should have a temple raised to his honor, in a city which received its appellation from himself, will scarcely admit of a question, particularly as he was esteemed to be potent in the infliction and cure of many disorders.

Homer introduces him very sublimely, as descending from Olympus, and discharging amongst the Grecians his arrows winged with plague and pestilence.

Βῆ δὲ κατ' ἑλυμποιο κάρηνων χωρμένῳ κῆρ,
 Τοῦ' ὠμοῖσιν ἐχών, ἀμφιρεφέα τε φαρετρήν.
 Ἐκλαγξάν δ' ἄρ' οἷσσι ἐπ' ὤμων χωρμένοιο,
 Αὐτὰ κινήθεν. ὁ δ' ἦϊε νυκτι εοικώς.
 Ἐξέτ' ἐπειτ' ἀπ' ἀνεύθε νέων, μετὰ δ' ἰὸν εἴκε.
 Δεινὴ δὲ κλαγγὴ γενετ' ἀργυρεοῖο βιοῖο.
 Οὐρίας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπωχέλο, καὶ κύνας ἀργῆς.
 Αὐτὰρ ἐπειτ' αὐτοῖσι βέλῳ ἐχέπευκας ἐφίεις,
 Βαλλ'.¹

And shortly after, as removing the malady from their camp, at the intercession of his favorite priest :

Ἡδ' ἐτι καὶ νῦν μοι τοδ' ἐπικρήνηνον ἐελδῶρ,
 Ἡδὴ νῦν Δαναοῖσιν ἀσκήα λοιγὸν ἀμύνον.
 Ὡς ἐφάτ' εὐχομένῳ· τὸ δ' ἐκλύε Φοῖβ' Ἀπολλων.²

The *Apollo Medicus*, or healing Apollo, occurs also in other poets, as the inventor of medicine, and the discoverer of the use of simples :

*Inventum medicina meum est ; opiferque per orbem
 Dicor ; et Herbarum subiecta potentia nobis.*³

The claim of Apollo to this fragment is further strengthened, by the circumstance of the *hair* ; which curls luxu-

¹ Hom: Il: 1. 44.

² Il: 1. v. 455.

³ Ov: Met: 15. 24.

riantly round the face, and falls in graceful ringlets behind the head. This was a striking characteristic of the God's person, and procured him, amongst the Greeks, the appellation *ακροστεκομης*, or long-locked; and with the Romans, that of *Grannus* or *Grynæus*, a Celtic appellative, descriptive of the radiant, thick, and trembling Solar beams.¹—To the flowing locks of Apollo, the poets are perpetually alluding;

Dignos et Apollini crines,

Says Ovid of a beautiful head of hair; and Tibullus, in an address to the God himself, does not forget to celebrate his profuse ringlets as constituting a chief ornament of his person;

*Nunc indue vestem
Sepositam, longas nunc bene pectle comas.*

On a coin preserved in the Numismata of Albertus Rubenius,² is a reverse, representing *Apollo conservator*, the

¹ Grynæus and Grannus are evidently derived from the Celtic *Grian*; which is composed of *Cri*, trembling, and *Tein*, fire.—In the oblique cases *Tein* makes *Thein*, which is pronounced *Ein*, or *An*; the consonants which begin the nominative of Celtic words being invariably quiescent in the genitive; so that *Cri-ein*, or *Cri-an*, literally signifies the *trembling fire*, in allusion to the sun's appearance to the eye.—Ossian countenances this etymon of *Crian* in his address to that luminary.—*Stu cri aig dorfa n'airdiar*—when thou tremblest at the gate of the West.—Vide Macpherson's Int: to the Hist: of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 160.

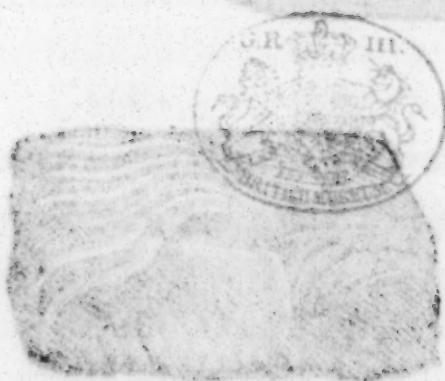
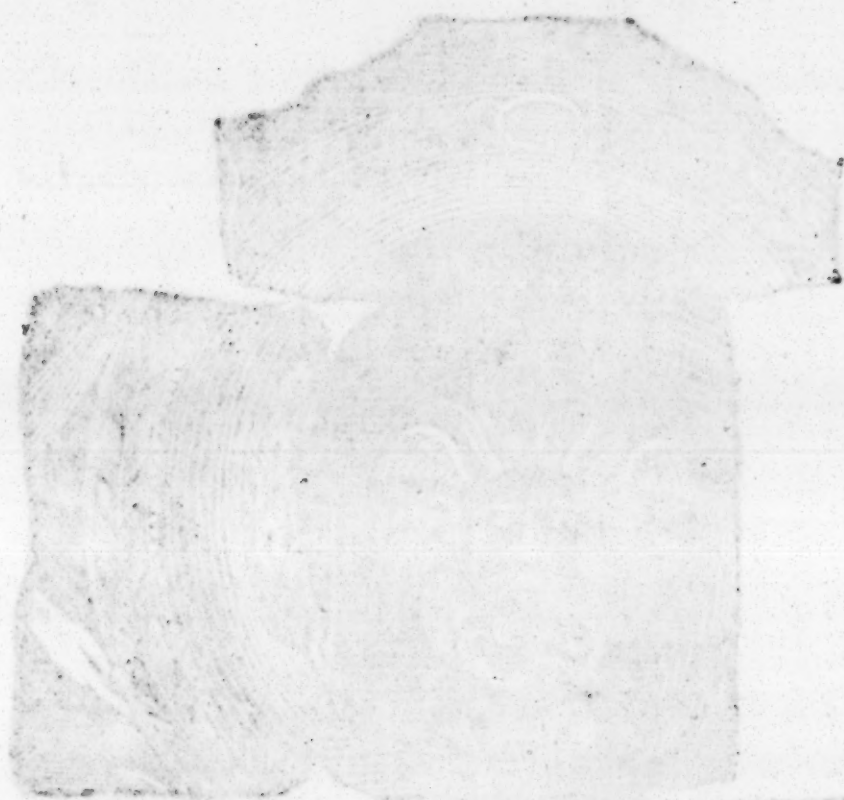
² Tabula 60. N. 6.

repeller of pestilence and disease, and averter of evil. He there appears crowned with laurel,¹ and bearing a lyre in his hand. As his office in this city was of a similar nature, we may suppose the statue under consideration, when perfect, exhibited him in the same character, and with the same accompaniment; and standing, probably, in the Penetralia of his own temple, he exemplified, in many particulars, the exquisitely beautiful description of a picture of this God, given by Tibullus;

*Hic juvenis castâ redimitus tempora lauro
 Est visus nostrâ ponere sede pedem:
 Non illo quicquam formosius ulla priorum
 Ætas, humanum nec videt illud opus.
 Intonsi crines longâ cervice fluebant;
 Stillabat Tyrio myrtea rore coma.
 Candor erat, qualem præfert Latonia Luna;
 Et color in niveo corpore purpureus:
 Ut Juveni primum virgo deducta marito
 Inficitur teneras ore rubente genas;
 Ut quum contextunt amaranthis alba puellæ
 Lilia, et Autumno candida mala rubent.²*

¹ It is evident that some species of ornament encircled the head, as there are several perforations, by the means of which it appears to have fastened on.

² Tibullus, El: Lib: 2.





No. XIV.

NUMBER XIV.

IT is with considerable diffidence that I enter on the consideration of this piece of antique masonry; being so unfortunate as to differ in opinion respecting it, with a gentleman whose deep erudition and intimate acquaintance with antiquarian subjects, render him so much better qualified than myself, for the investigation, and illustration of whatever is doubtful or obscure in that line of research. But as no *Hypothesis*, however happy it may be, can amount to absolute demonstration; further conjectures on the subject, notwithstanding the ingenious remarks of Governor Pownal, are by no means precluded; and that liberality of sentiment which usually accompanies intellectual excellence, will, I trust, require no apology, when I offer such as have arisen in my mind after an attentive consideration of this curious remain of antiquity.

The Governor's opinion with regard to it will be found in the following extract from his pamphlet.

o

The

“ The *Symbolic Head*, found in the same place, which I propose here to describe and to explain, when viewed as we see it, in its present situation, cut in strong and coarse lines, appears to be a very ordinary rough piece of sculpture ; but when set in the situation in which it must have been placed, two or three and thirty feet high, it would give the proper effect, which, if cut in more delicate lines, it would not have given. It is carved on a masonry of large stones, the remaining parts of which, shew that this masonry was the Tympanum of a pediment of some considerable building.—By what maybe collected from several fragments found in the same place with this, it appears that the vestibule of this building must have been of a very rich Corinthian order, and (allowing for the difference of the Roman and English) about thirty feet square in breadth and height ; and that, most probably, the interior space of the temple was a double cube of these dimensions.

“ Whoever examines this symbolic ornament, with deliberate and distinct ideas, formed on the fact, will discover that this head is no head of Medusa ;

——*Crinita draconibus ora*, Ov : Met : lib. 4.

“ He will not find the hair to be *crines anguicomæ* ; he will see the hair, though rudely cut, remaining in its natural state. He may observe the serpents mixed with the hair surround or are placed upon the *caput pinnatum*, as somewhat adscititious. Two serpents are tied together in a kind

kind of knot under the chin; the heads of two others project beyond the hair, about the place of the ears; four others seem to be plaited in a knot on the upper part of the head above the wings.

“ This ornament, so placed, I shall be able, I hope, to explain in the following paper, as the *Serpentine* or *Cherubic Diadem*, which the Egyptians, Rhodians, and some other nations in the East, placed upon the head of the divine symbol of their God.

“ Although it is represented in the fable of Medusa, that her fine hair became serpents, so transformed as a punishment inflicted by the indignation of the Gods; yet the beauty of her countenance remained, and thus she is represented in the best gems, which give decidedly the head of Medusa. The countenance here in this fragment is that of a bearded male, with large whiskers, not a female; of an aspect stern, yet open as the day, Φαίδρος τας ὀψας, just as Mercury is described in his character of Sol.”¹

The Governor then proceeds to the explanation of this masonry, in which he displays much ingenuity, and recondite learning; and adds the following paragraph as the general conclusion of his premises.

¹ Governor Pownall's Descriptions and Explanations of some Remains of Roman Antiquities, dug up in the city of Bath. Cruttwell, 1795. p. 2. 3.

“ Now putting together that this *caput pinnatum*, crowned with the serpentine diadem, was the *cherubic emblem* of the *Sun*; and that this emblem, as in its first form was almost universally placed in the fronts of the temples in Egypt, and on many in Persia; I say combining this idea with the fact that this city, afterwards by the Saxons called *Baden*, was originally by the Romans called *Aquæ Solis*, and sacred to *Sol*; also with the fact, that after the time in which the Flavian family were Emperors of Rome, temples dedicated to *Sol*, under the theologic notions, explained in this paper, were frequently erected; we may venture to say *that this curious piece of antiquity is a fragment of a temple of Sol; and that this caput pinnatum, crowned with the serpentine diadem, is the cherubic emblem of Sol, placed in the front of this temple, particularly in the tympanum of the pediment.*”

Notwithstanding the ingenious and erudite reasoning of Governor Pownal on the subject, I cannot but think his hypothesis is ill-founded—that the sculpture before us, so far from being the *cherubic emblem of the Sun*, and a fragment of a temple dedicated to that Deity, is the tympanum of an edifice sacred to *Minerva*, and represents the head of Medusa, an appropriate emblem of that Goddess. The following observations will probably be thought to confirm, or at least corroborate this opinion.

It may be to our purpose to prove, in the first place, that a temple dedicated to *Minerva*, stood formerly in the
city

city of Bath. For this fact we have the testimony of Solinus, who expressly tells us, a magnificent edifice of this kind was erected there by the Romans, who considered Minerva and Apollo, as the joint tutelary Deities of its healing springs.¹ Here she was probably worshipped under her *medical character*; since at Rome, among many other temples, she had one as patroness of the Pharmaceutic Art,²

1 "Fontes in Britannia caldios," memorat (Solinus Polyhist. c. 22.) "opiparo excultos apparatu; quibus fontibus præsul sit Minerva, in cujus æde perpetui igne, nunquam canescant in favillas sed ubi ignis tabuerit vertere in globos Saxeos." Quos fontes ab his aquis (ὑδατα θερμα) distinguendos non putant; ut adeo et Minervæ et Soli aquæ fuerint sacratæ. Guil: Burton, Com: in Antonin: p. 260.

In the above quotation from Solinus a curious circumstance is mentioned with respect to the *fuel consumed in the Temple of Minerva*, which, says the writer, "is never reduced to white ashes, but converted into *stony nodules*." A gentleman suggested, that this description evidently pointed at *coal*, as the matter burnt in the temple of Minerva. A large heated mass of which fossil, would produce just what Solinus mentions; not white ashes, but roundish, heavy cinders; not unlike in weight and appearance, a dark and porous stone. This opinion is strengthened by the ease with which coal might have been procured in the neighbourhood of this city, as it lies in almost every direction round it, and at no great distance from the surface. It is rendered further probable, by the certainty we have of its use being perfectly known to the Britons, and to the Romans also on their arrival here. "That the Britons in general were acquainted with this fuel, is evident from its appellation amongst us at present, which is not *Saxon* but *British*, and subsists amongst the Irish in their *Gual*, and amongst the Cornish, in their *Kolan*, to this day." Whitaker's Hist: Manchester, v. 2. p. 37. "The Romans were as well acquainted with our pit-coal, as with our ores and metals; in digging up some of the foundations of their walled city *Magna* or *Caerborran*, 1762, coal cinders, some very large were turned up, glowed in the fire like other cinders, and not to be known from them when taken out." Wallis's Hist: Northumberland, v. 1. p. 119.

2 Templi Minervæ Medicæ P. victor meminit, quod fuit in regione v. Rosini Antiq: Rom: 170.

Such

Such being the fact, and every circumstance of the fragment before us, referring to *Minerva*, under some or other of her characters, it seems likely that the whole belonged originally to the temple mentioned by Solinus.

Let us, however, consider Governor Pownal's objections to this.

The *hair*, he observes, will not be found to be *crines anguicomæ*, but, though rudely cut, to be *in its natural state*. Now, on considering most of the heads of *Medusa*, collected from gems, sculptures, and coins, by antiquaries, we find them strikingly similar to that under consideration. Hence it appears, that we are to consider the *crinita draconibus ora*, and such like expressions of the ancient poets (for the antique sculptures, after all, form the best comment upon them), as figurative and poetical, intended to convey the idea, that the fine hair of *Medusa* was *intermingled* with serpents; not as exhibiting absolutely *snaky locks*, or consisting of snakes altogether.

Governor Pownal next remarks, that though the fine hair of *Medusa* became serpents, yet the *the beauty of her countenance still remained*; that the face in the fragment is, that of a *bearded male*, with *whiskers*, and therefore cannot be intended for the Gorgon's countenance.

Now the fact is, that *Medusa*, in ancient gems and sculptures, is represented under various appearances; sometimes

sometimes with a face beautiful and serene, at others, as convulsed with passion, and distorted with horror.¹

The contraction of brow in the fragment, which was intended to give an expression of ferocity that could not be introduced into the eyes, agrees admirably well with the stern and fierce aspect generally attributed by the poets to Medusa. On the shield of Agamemnon she was to be seen with eyes fierce, and looking horror:

Τῇ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν Γοργῶ βλοσυρῶπις ἐξεφανώτο
Δεινὸν δερκομένη, περὶ δὲ Δειμὸς τε Φόβος τε.

On that of Hercules also, the same dire monster appeared, with similar fearful circumstances;

Πάνδε μεταφρενὸν εἶχε καρὴ δαίνοιο πέλωρ
Γοργῶς.

—ἐπὶ δὲ δαίνοισι καρήνοισι

Γοργῶσις ἐδόνατο μέγας φόβος. 3

¹ Spence's Polymetis, plate 41. fig. 2. Medusa's head, exhibiting rage and horror, from a shield at the foot of the statue of Mars, at the Borgheze Villa, near Rome.

² Hom: II; xi. v. 36.

In eo autem Gorgon trux oculis adornata erat

Horrendum aspiciens, et circum Terrorque et fuga.

³ Heriod ΑΣΠΙΣ ἩΡΑΚ. v. 223. 236. omne dorsum habebat caput gravis Monstri Gorgûs—In gravibus capitibus Gorgoreis agitabatur magnus terror.

Lucan alludes to her terrific look,

*Quos habuit vultus hamati vulnere ferri
Cæsa caput Gorgon? Quanto spirasse veneno
Ora rear, quantumque oculos effundere mortis.*¹

A similar allusion occurs in Flaccus;

—*Horrentem colubris (Ægidem), vultuque tremendam
Gorgones.*²

And Virgil hath not forgotten to mention *the rolling of her eyes* as a distinguishing and horrible circumstance in the countenance of Medusa;

*Gorgona, defecto vertentem lumina collo.*³

That she is ever represented indeed with a beard or whiskers, I do not find. But these appendages may, I think, be very well accounted for, by taking into consideration that as the sculpture was intended for an elevation of thirty or forty feet, the architect might have added them (improperly enough) for the purposes of giving more character to the countenance, and conveying into it that *masculine ferocity*, which the poets attributed to it.⁴

¹ Lib: 9. v. 680.

² Argonau, 6. v. 176.

³ En: 8. v. 438.

⁴ Cupid is introduced, in Lucian's Dialogues, as telling his mother, that Minerva's appearance is so fierce and *masculine*, he is afraid to approach her. Δεῖλα ὡς μητις, αὐτήν. Φοβίζα γὰρ ἴσσι, καὶ κακοπῇ καὶ δεινῶς ἀνδρείῃ. Tom: 1—716. The same author tells us also, that a similar *masculine and ferocious* look might be observed in the countenance of her Ægis. P. 89.

The

The *wings* attached to the head constitute a further proof that *Medusa* was intended to be here represented. Most of the gems and sculptures represent her with a *caput pinna-tum*, which seems to have been thus ornamented, in allusion to the fable of her destruction, accomplished by Perseus with the assistance of Mercury who accommodated the hero with his own wings, when he undertook to destroy this pernicious monster.¹

Another argument in favour of my opinion may be drawn from the snakes which are interwoven with the hair, particularly those that are *connected together under the chin*, to which both Ovid and Virgil more especially allude ;

Nexaque nodosas angue Medusa comas.
*Connexos angues.*²

The above observations may, perhaps, remove the Governor's objections with respect to the head being that of *Medusa*.—It will now be necessary to notice certain ornaments observable on the fragment, which may be adduced as decisive proofs of the whole referring to *Minerva* instead of *Sol*.

On considering the annexed engraving, it will be remarked that the head is surrounded by two circular ornaments. The external one exhibits an *olive wreath*, as is evident

¹ Montfaucon, Tom : 1. p. 144.

² Ovid ex ponto, Lib. 3. Ep: 1. v. 124.

from the long, narrow, and slightly indented leaves, and the berries which accompany them.—That this tree was sacred to *Minerva*, and emblematical of her as patroness of the arts, is notorious.¹ In classical mythology, she was feigned to have first presented the valuable plant to mankind; and in her peaceful character, was always represented, either with a branch of it in her hand, or with one encircling her helmet.² Another usual accompaniment of the same Deity, in sculpture and gems, is the *owl*, or bird of wisdom, which was supposed to be particularly agreeable to the Goddess of it.;

*Non comes obscurus tripodum non fulminis ardes
Vektor ades, flavæque sonans avis unca Minervæ.*³

A bird of this species appears on the Tympanum, just without the external circular ornament; which, (though Governor Pownal considers it as a *negative proof* of the truth of his Hypothesis) I cannot but think, was intended as a further indication of the exclusive claim of *Minerva*, to the edifice of which it was an ornament.—The same observation may be made with respect to the Helmet that appears on the opposite side; it being, an emblem of the *Diva armigera*, or *Minerva* in her warlike character; and as such, is a very common representation in sculptures which

¹ Olea, Minervæ symbolum est, cui hæc arbor sacra artium habita præses, quæ artes ad lucernam noctu lucubrando nimium quantum crescunt in qua lucerna et oleum adhiberi solet. Ant: August: Dial: in Antiq: D. 2. p. 19.

² Id: Dial: 4. p. 69.

³ Statius, Theb: Lib: 3. v. 520.

have

have a reference to her. Though it be somewhat defaced by the injuries of time, it still affords us a pretty good pattern of the Roman *Galea*; and proves how admirably this piece of Head-armour was calculated to answer the purposes for which it was designed. It might not be indeed so light, nor perhaps, so becoming, as the cavalry helmet of modern days; yet its construction rendered it much more useful to the wearer, and preserved him both from inconvenience and injuries, to which the imperfect form of the one now in use, renders him liable. The *strap* that appears on each side, and which was fastened under the chin, prevented the possibility of the helmet being thrown off in the shock of battle, an accident that may easily happen without such a precaution. This appendage was called *Οχευς*, and made a part of the ancient Grecian, as well as Roman Helmet. Another superiority which the Roman Head-armour possessed over the modern one, was the *buccula* or leathern flap, that depended from the back of the helmet, and covered the neck and part of the shoulders. This addition must, doubtless, have been somewhat incommodious to the wearer, until use had reconciled him to it; but the inconvenience was amply recompensed by its utility, since it preserved those parts from being wounded, which being left exposed by the modern Casque, are, as I am informed, very frequently, and severely injured.

1 It was this strap, which, had it not been for the interposition of Venus, would have been the death of Paris, in his contest with Menelaus.

Αγχι δὲ μιν πολυκίτος ἰμάς ἀπαλὴν ὑποδείξεν,

ὅς αἱ ὑπ' ἀνθρῶνος οἴχευς τέτατο τρυφάειν.

Hom. I. γ. 371.

I proceed now to the last, perhaps the strongest proof, that the Tympanum under consideration may be considered as part of the temple of Minerva mentioned by Solinus.—It is well known that the ancients esteemed certain *beasts* to be particularly agreeable to particular Gods.—These, on festivals, and other solemn occasions, they offered up; and each Deity was regaled with the favor that arose from the sacrifice of his favorite animal;

Κνίσση δ' ἔβρανον ἴκεν ἐλίσσομένη περὶ καπνῷ. ¹

It is equally certain, that the Goddess *Minerva* was thought to prefer an *Heifer of a year old* to any other beast; and, under this absurd impression, the ancients frequently made that offering to her, as the most grateful one in their power.—Such a sacrifice does *Diomed* promise to *Minerva*, as the recompence of her assistance in an expedition he is about to undertake;

Σοὶ δ' αὖ ἐγὼ ρεῖω βένην ἡνίχ, εὐρυμετώπων,
Ἀδμήτην, ἣν ἔπω ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἡγαγεν ἀνὴρ.
Τὴν τοι ἐγὼ ρεῖω, χρυσὸν κέρασιν περιχευας ²

And Helenus advises twelve of them to be sacrificed to the same Goddess, as the most likely means of engaging her compassion in behalf of Troy and its inhabitants;

¹ Hom. Il. 1. v. 317. Nidor autem ad cælum ibat circumfusus fumo.

² Il. x. v. 292.

Και οἱ ὑποσχεσθαι δωδεκα βovs ἐν τῷ
 ἑνὶ τῷ, ἡκεῖς ἱερῶν, ¹ &c.

Now it is a curious and remarkable circumstance, strongly corroborative of the opinion I have ventured to suggest, that *several horns*, together with parts of *skulls*, which from their shape, figure, and size, are, unquestionably, those of *yearlings*, were found on the same spot with the Tympanum and other fragments of the temple to which it belonged. This fact seems to settle, beyond doubt, that the *customary* sacrifices to Minerva had been offered in this edifice; and, when connected with the other circumstances above adduced, forms so powerful a body of *presumptive proof* that the edifice itself was consecrated to this Goddess, as nothing, but absolute demonstration to the contrary, can resist or overturn.²

¹ Et ei voveat duodecim boves in templo

Anniculas, jugum non passas, sacrificaturum, &c. II: 6. v. 93.

² The other fragment herewith represented, is part of a *flying Genius*; two of which appear to have supported the outer wreath, as may be concluded from the remaining hands and arm visible on the right side of it.



